Daily Report

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Fitzwater Details Kohl Message to Bush

LD2605043189 Moscow TASS in English 2207 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Washington May 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

A day before leaving for a NATO summit meeting in Europe, U.S. President George Bush received a message from FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater told journalists on Thursday. However, this message failed to bring the U.S. closer to bridging its gap with the FRG on the issue of short-range nuclear forces (SNF) talks with the Soviet Union. The issue of short-range missiles "is still an open one," the spokesman said.

As is known the FRG Government favours postponing a decision on modernising NATO's short-range nuclear forces and favours starting SNF negotiations in Europe. This position is supported by some other NATO countries. Official representatives of the administration are strongly opposed to these talks and regard their start at the present stage as a grave mistake in the words of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

The White House spokesman said that consultations between the U.S. and the FRG continued on that question, which he described as open exchanges. He noted that Washington wanted to reach a consensus on the problem of short-range missiles before the anniversary meeting of NATO leaders in Brussels on May 29. If that did not happen, Marlin Fitzwater said, the discussion on that issue would be held at the meeting itself. If no common position was worked out, the consultations would be held after that.

The White House spokesman rejected allegations that the differences inside NATO on the short-range missiles would introduce a discord at the forthcoming Brussels meeting. The United States would like to demonstrate NATO unity, Fitzwater said, adding that the issue of tactical missiles would not dominate the Brussels meeting.

However, former U.S. arms control negotiator Paul Nitze warned on Wednesday that the differences on that issue threatened to divide NATO. Most European members of NATO currently support the FRG position, while the U.S. is supported only by Britain. History shows that the discord in NATO does not help solve arms control problems, Paul Nitze said.

NATO 'Rift' Over Short-Range Missiles Detailed

LD2305230889 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] One week before the start of the NATO summit, alliance officials are still scrambling to mend a rift between the United States and Britain and other NATO allies over short-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Yuriy Minayev again:

[Minayev] The disagreement, I think, will hardly be fully settled by the time NATO leaders gather in Brussels next week to mark the 40th anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. According to West German officials, Washington and Bonn remain far apart on how to end the NATO feud over reducing short-range nuclear weapons. After discussing an American compromise offer the West German Government responded to Washington with a letter that in many points essentially restated Bonn's position. The American compromise, it was announced, puts off until 1992 any decision on installing new short-range missiles, but in this compromise Bonn would have to drop its demand for early talks on these weapons with the Warsaw Treaty until progress is reached at the Vienna talks on cutting conventional forces. According to reports, in its answer, Bonn said it could not accept Washington's proposal to put off any talks until cuts in conventional weapons are agreed in Vienna and implemented. This position can be understood because a majority of West Germans oppose short-range nuclear missiles on their territory, missiles that would destroy both Germanies in the event of a nuclear conflict.

This also explains why some NATO allies, West Germany first of all, also oppose a statement Washington sought from its NATO partners supporting plans to develop a successor to the Lance missile, because anyway if a new missile is created it would have to be sited somewhere—if you oppose its deployment then why should you support modernization? What is important, West Germany has gained support for its position, though some differences remain, from Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Greece, Italy, and Spain. In my opinion this indicates that the trend towards nuclear disarmament is the right one, though there are many difficulties on this way to be cleared.

Soviet Experts Arrive at U.S. Base in Netherlands

LD2505144289 Moscow TASS in English 1435 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] The Hague May 25 TASS—A ten-member group of Soviet military experts has arrived in The Netherlands to begin inspection today at the U.S. Air Force Base in Woendsrecht in accordance with the provisions of the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

The Netherlands is one of the five West European NATO member-countries who had agreed to deploy American cruise missiles on their territories. 48 missiles were to be delivered to the Netherlands for deployment at the Woendsdrecht Base at the end of last year. However, the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and its subsequent ratification, led to cancelling the deployment on the Dutch territory.

Leader of Soviet Inspectors in Utah Interviewed
PM2505140189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Telephone interview with V.S. Lebedev, leader of the Magna Soviet inspectors' group, by own correspondent A. Blinov: "Inspectors' Watch at Rocky Mountains"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction; date not given]

[Text] It will soon be a year since the ratification of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Following its entry into force centers were created in the U.S. city of Magna (Utah) and the Soviet city of Votkinsk where inspectors of the two countries are continuously monitoring the fulfillment of the treaty's provisions. The IZVESTIYA correspondent in Washington linked up with Magna by telephone. V.S. Lebedev, leader of the Soviet inspectors' group, answers his questions.

[Blinov] You are at a geographical point which is not marked on many working maps of the United States. But IZVESTIYA readers have already heard of Magna, although they do not know enough about what kind of a town it is. What can you say about it and why is it Magna which has become the venue for continuous inspections?

[Lebedev] Magna is a small town. With one-story buildings and a lot of greenery. Nearby copper ore is mined. Not far away is the "Hercules" plant—the object of our activity as inspectors.

Actually, Magna is only a geographical reference point. We live in another town—West Jordan, which is closer to Salt Lake City—the administrative center of Utah. We are 20 minutes' drive away from the "Hercules" plant. We have a duty shift there 24 hours a day.

[Blinov] Could you describe your functions as inspectors monitoring the fulfillment of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles?

[Lebedev] In accordance with the treaty the "Hercules" plant has ceased the production of intermediate-range missiles. We monitor the fulfillment of this point of the treaty. With the aid of special equipment we observe the entire perimeter of the plant. Our aim is to make sure that equipment banned by the treaty is not taken out through its portals. The work is around the clock and in shifts—one day out of every three....

The numerical strength of the inspectors' group should not exceed 30 men. At present there are 27 of us: military and technical specialists and interpreters. We live here without our families. On average each inspector is in Utah continuously for 2 months. Replacement is in accordance with a sliding schedule. Representatives of the corresponding U.S. service—the On-Site Inspection Agency—are here for liaison and the solution of all matters which arise.

[Blinov] Have the Soviet inspectors had occasion to record a violation of the treaty or to lodge a protest?

[Lebedev] No, there have been no violations of the treaty. As far as I know, the picture is the same in Votkinsk. The provisions of the treaty are being fulfilled irreproachably at both sites.

[Blinov] Life on a watch basis, so to speak, has its inconveniences?

[Lebedev] We cannot complain of difficulties in daily life. At first we lived in a small hotel building. But we recently moved to a residential compound specially constructed for us. It consists of two apartment blocks, each with six two-room or three-room apartment, an administrative building, and a sports complex—a tennis court, volleyball area, and a small swimming pool. We prepare our own food and do our own cleaning.

[Blinov] And if you need medical aid?

[Lebedev] Before being sent on their tour of duty the inspectors go before a medical commission and if necessary we can go to the local hospital. Recently one of our inspectors seriously injured a finger. He needed an urgent operation: A nerve had to be stitched. A U.S. surgeon performed the operation in an exemplary fashion. But, to be honest, the bill was also impressive—about $2,000.

[Blinov] Nearby there is a big city—Salt Lake City. Do you manage to visit it?

[Lebedev] Under the established rules we can travel to the city and other places as we wish. But here a U.S. escort must be present. The U.S. side has been concerned for our cultural program: We go on excursions and to concerts.

[Blinov] The inhabitants of Utah or to be more precise some of them used to "live" by the production of missiles, and now there are Soviet citizens next to them monitoring the ending of their production. How have local inhabitants treated your arrival?

[Lebedev] Their attitude toward our presence in Utah is undoubtedly positive. This was confirmed by a poll carried out by the SALT LAKE CITY TRIBUNE.

[Blinov] Have you managed to communicate personally with Americans—your neighbors in the compound or inhabitants of Salt Lake City? I know of a case when the local authorities objected to Soviet inspectors being invited to visit an American family.

[Lebedev] These misunderstandings have been completely eliminated. We are often invited by Americans and public organizations anxious to hear from us about the Soviet Union. Press organs ask for interviews. The

families of local inhabitants want to communicate more closely with Soviet people, invite us to visit them, and receive us hospitably. We would simply not have time to answer every invitation.

Joint communication has persuaded us that the U.S. people have an enormous capacity for good will and friendly feelings toward Soviet people. This is also noted by the staffers of the U.S. On-Site Inspection Agency. Mary Wilson, who is concerned with our cultural program, noted in an interview with a local newspaper the "striking success of on-site diplomacy—USSR and U.S. citizens are finding a common language easily."

Importance of Space Weapons Talks Stressed
LD2505161989 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—The resumption of Soviet-American dialogue at the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons is not only needed by the Soviet Union and the United States, it also serves the cause of strengthening security throughout the world, said Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks, at a briefing here today. He said that according to an agreement reached through diplomatic channels, the talks are due to resume on June 19.

To make effective headway at the talks, it is necessary to resolve a number of questions on which the positions of the parties differ, the Soviet diplomat said. He pointed out the necessary linkage between a fifty per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons (SOW) and the continued enforcement of the ABM [Antiballistic Missile] Treaty provisions as they were signed in 1972. The problem of sea-based long-ranged cruise missiles must also be considered within the framework of the SOW treaty, Nazarkin said.

Speaking about cuts in heavy bombers and air-based long-range cruise missiles as well as mobile launchpads for intercontinental ballistic missiles, Nazarkin reiterated the substantial progress made in this direction and pointed out that certain areas of agreement had been defined.

"The Soviet Union is prepared to tackle the remaining problems and head for the elimination of bilateral concerns in a way acceptable to both parties and to move together toward completion of work on the treaty that would result in strengthening stability and lessening the danger of nuclear war," Nazarkin said.

Radar Story Seen Aimed At U.S.-USSR Dialogue
PM2405150989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Article by Vladimir Chernyshev, observer on military questions, under the rubric "TASS—for KRASNAYA ZVEZDA": "Who Is Being Hampered by Dialogue"]

[Text] THE WASHINGTON POST newspaper published an article by the well-known observers R. Evans and R. Novak in which, citing a Pentagon intelligence report "being made available in Washington only at the highest level," they report that the USSR has allegedly failed to fulfill its promise to dismantle the "radar station" located in the Gomel region. The presence of this "station" was interpreted by the United States 17 months ago as a violation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile [ABM] Treaty. In March this year, the authors write, two "inspectors" sent to the place by U.S. National Security Council officials allegedly reported that three specific operations on the dismantling to which Soviet representatives had agreed are not being carried out.

I was told by authoritative Soviet military circles that this information clearly distorts the real situation. The following is the actual state of affairs. It is a matter of shifting to the Gomel and Moscow regions individual radar elements which were left after dismantling the Soviet stations which were given the standard names "Flat Twin" and "Pawn Shop." These elements were intended to be utilized for national economic purposes, and this does not contravene the ABM Treaty.

However, taking into account that the appearance of these radar elements in the Gomel and Moscow regions caused concern on the U.S. side, the Soviet Government expressed its readiness to take a constructive step and destroy them in the interests of consolidating the ABM Treaty. The procedure for the practical implementation of this promise was formulated by the Soviet side and was reported to U.S. official representatives, who confirmed that they correctly understood the measures envisaged. The U.S. side was informed of the timetable for the destruction to begin and end.

The Soviet Union invited U.S. experts so that they could convince themselves on the spot that all the scheduled measures were being completely fulfilled. The United States made good use of the opportunity granted to it: Experts did visit the USSR, where they were shown everything that interested them. Moreover, the U.S. representatives were asked directly whether, in their opinion, there were any discrepancies in the measures formulated and reported by us to Washington and what would be necessary to eliminate these discrepancies. But no suggestions followed from the U.S. experts.

It is important to note one other thing: During the entire time since the U.S. specialists' visit to the places where the radar elements were being destroyed, U.S. official departments have neither voiced any complaints mor asked any questions about this problem.

So, as follows from the explanations given by USSR Defense Ministry representatives, the entire course of events testifies that the so-called issue of the radars in the Gomel region (and also Moscow) should be closed by both sides. The present claims concerning "the Soviet Union's nonfulfillment of promises," as reported by THE WASHINGTON POST, essentially imply that the USSR failed to carry out some work over and above that envisaged by the plan. This interpretation of the essence

of the matter can only cause perplexity. Moreover, if the article's authors are to be believed, then the Pentagon has made a maneuver which must be interpreted in the Soviet Union as nonfulfillment of its obligations by the U.S. side. In December 1988 U.S. representatives stated that, if the work envisaged by the Soviet plan were fulfilled, that would satisfy Washington and remove its concern. Now the Pentagon is going beyond the framework of what was discussed earlier.

The question arises: Who needed to raise the question of the Soviet radars once again, and for what purpose? Evidently, those who do not like the resumption of Soviet-U.S. dialogue, who are against constructive cooperation in resolving problems which emerge, and who fear the breakdown of the atmosphere of mutual distrust between the USSR and the United States. It is precisely they who are trying to convince the public that the Soviet Union cannot be trusted and that it should be regarded as a "threat" to U.S. security.

Gerasimov Holds 25 May News Conference

Comments on Afghan Leadership Issue

LD2505135989 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Afghanistan's internal problems can be solved only by Afghans themselves, and the conflict cannot be tackled by military means, Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov told the "alliance of eight" rebel leaders during a recent visit to Afghanistan.

Speaking to reporters here today, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov emphasized that Vorontsov did not discuss the character of the future Afghan government with the rebel leaders.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President Najibullah have no claims on a monopoly of power in their country and are prepared to enter a constructive dialogue with the opposition, Gerasimov said.

Vorontsov also said that the Soviet side was prepared to help start the dialogue.

The participation of the present Afghan government in future power structures in Afghanistan was never doubted by Yuliy Vorontsov, Gerasimov said.

Discusses Weapons, Afghanistan, Balkans

LD2505162189 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—At a briefing here today, head of the Soviet delegation at the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons Yuriy Nazarkin stated that the resumption of Soviet-American dialogue on the problems of these weapons is not only of great importance for the two countries but also serves the cause of security the world over. According to the agreement reached through diplomatic channels, the talks on this major problem will resume on June 19.

Speaking about the Vienna talks on conventional weapons in Europe, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said that presently the positions of the parties have been brought much closer together, though they still differ on the quantitative parameters for different types of weapons and troop numbers.

Gerasimov pointed out a positive reaction in the West toward the proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries and said "We hope that the approval and the positive assessment of our steps in Vienna will be followed up by a constructive repsonse of the West to the proposals."

The Foreign Ministry spokesman further said that during a recent visit to Tehran, First Deputy Foreign Minister and Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan Yuliy Vorontsov had a talk with representatives of the Afghan opposition Alliance of Eight in which he reiterated the Soviet Union's principled stand with relation to the Afghan affairs—the resolution of Afghan domestic problems is the matter for the Afghans themselves to handle and that the settlement of the dispute by military means was impossible. "The involvement of the present Afghan Government in future structures of state authority was in no way called in question by Yuliy Vorontsov," Gerasimov stressed.

Commenting on the conference of Balkan experts on confidence- and security-building measures in the Balkans which ended in Bucharest on Wednesday, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Balkans were "part of Europe and part of our common European home, and we welcome every step including new international meetings aimed to spread and strengthen confidence-building activity in the region and to resolve all the problems there."

Gerasimov informed of the content of the letter addressed by TASS general director Leonid Kravchenko to British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe regretting the expulsion of three Soviet journalists from Britain, including TASS correspondent Igor Peskov.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman informed reporters of an upcoming visit to Greece by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Balkan Conference on Confidence-Building Reported

PM2505144589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent V. Volodin: "Balkans: Step Toward Agreement"]

[Text] Bucharest—A conference on strengthening confidence-building and security measures on the Balkan peninsula has taken place with the participation of experts from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

Any international meeting promoting the dissemination of confidence-building measures is worthy of the world community's support. Especially when it is a case of the Balkan, which in the past have won notoriety as "the powder keg of Europe." It is here more often than anywhere that the peoples have met on the battlefield and not at the conference table. And although peace has now reigned on the peninsula for over 40 years quite avid differences still remain in the political, economic, military, and ecological fields. States belonging to different sociopolitical systems, Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, and those which do not belong to military groupings, are situated in the Balkans. That is why it is no accident that during the discussion of matters of the exchange of information regarding the Balkan states' military doctrines, arms control procedures, and the

establishment of dialogue between defense ministers and chiefs of general staff, the majority of experts pointed to the need to overcome bloc thinking. In this connection the meeting's participants welcomed with great interest Bulgaria's proposal to transform the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO in the Balkans into a zone of trust.

The path to the creation of a peaceful all-Balkan home where the obstacles of chronic problems have to be overcome on the way is not coming easy. Of course, the Balkans are part of Europe. And the new political thinking is having a positive influence on the development of Balkan dialogue. The conference noted that the elimination of intermediate-range missiles in Europe increases the level of security in the Balkans and creates favorable conditions for the development of dialogue and the search for new points of collaboration. For instance, the decision of the Greek Government to end the "state of war" with Albania, which had formally continued to exist until recently, was an important step on the path toward the normalization of the political climate on the peninsula. It is not out of the question that the elimination of these obstacles in Albanian-Greek relations was one of the factors which prompted Albania to sit down at the conference table at the memorable general Balkan meeting of foreign ministers in Belgrade, which lent powerful impetus to the development of constructive dialogue in the region.

The meeting in Bucharest has shown that the potential of the joint initiative of Romania and Bulgaria, which suggested creating a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons on the peninsula, has not been fully used in the consolidation of confidence-building and security measures in the Balkans. The topicality of this issue is borne out by the Bulgarian-Greek declaration of 23 April this year which provides for the transition to practical measures to create such a zone.

Naturally, the conference of experts could not elaborate recommendations making it possible to resolve all problems existing here. Indeed, no one expected this of the first meeting of experts. How many contradictions the Balkan countries still have to resolve on the path toward agreement! But the first step in this direction has already been taken.

International Scientific Seminar Held in Moscow

LD2505184589 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—An international scientific seminar, organised for the 100th anniversary of the second international by the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's Institute of Social Sciences, the USSR Academy of Sciences' International Workers Movement Institute and the Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions, ended its work here today.

Prominent scientists, political figures and members of communist, socialist and social democratic parties and trade unions from some 30 countries attended the three-day forum to discuss historic aspects of the second international and fundamental problems facing world socialism and the international workers movement on the threshold of the 21st century.

Speakers called for a broader dialogue between different ideological and political groups in the workers movement.

Many participants emphasised the global impact of reforms in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The meeting was successful, most participants agreed.

The international workers movement will benefit from a permanent dialogue between communists, socialists and social democrats, they said.

Ryzhkov Greets Railroad Association Congress

PM2505154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[N. Ryzhkov greetings message: "To the 25th Congress of the International Railway Congresses Association and the International Rail Union"]

[Text] I cordially greet the participants and guests of the 25th Congress of the International Railway Congresses Association and the International Rail Union.

In the modern world railroads are an important factor in expanding all kinds of exchanges, international trade, and business cooperation. They thereby play a very substantive role in bringing countries and peoples closer together and in integrating the international community.

Technical progress is opening up new opportunities for this traditional sector, promoting its renewal, and simultaneously presenting it with new tasks. The resolution of these tasks will be promoted by extensive exchanges of experience and close cooperation among rail workers in all countries. Soviet railroad workers, who, along with the entire Soviet people, are currently participating in the implementation of the tasks of restructuring and renewing all spheres of the Soviet Union's life, are striving for this.

The meeting of rail leaders and eminent scientists and specialists from many countries in Moscow will make it possible to comprehensively discuss the concept of and new ideas for the development and improvement of railroads on the threshold of the 21st century and will promote the further strengthening of international scientific, technical, and economic cooperation in the sphere of rail transport.

I wish all participants and guests in the International Rail Congress a fruitful meeting and new successes.
[Signed] N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Ryzhkov Greets Finno-Ugric Writers' Meeting
PM2505153989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[N. Ryzhkov greetings message: "To the Participants in the First International Meeting of Finno-Ugric Writers"]

[Text] I welcome the participants in the first International Meeting of Finno-Ugric Writers opening in Yoshkar-Ola under the slogan "Writers in the Struggle for Peace, Progress, and the Strengthening of Interethnic Relations."

The expansion of creative contacts between cultural figures in various countries is an important feature of our time and inspires hope of a safer and more sensible future for all people.

The languages in which you write have common roots that go back centuries. But only positive processes in world politics and the strengthening desire for international cooperation in all spheres of life have made your meeting possible.

I hope that it will be yet another good example of friendship and mutual understanding among our countries and peoples and will help to raise writers' prestige still further in the common struggle for peace, progress, and for new thinking in international relations.

I wish you successful and fruitful work.
[Signed] N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

United States & Canada

Baker 'Welcomes' Soviet Arms Initiatives

LD2605114689 Moscow TASS in English 1105 GMT 26 May 89

["U.S. Secretary of State Welcomes Soviet Initiatives"—TASS headline]

[Text] New York May 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Kirilchenko:

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has said in an ABC interview that the United States positively regards the latest Soviet proposals concerning talks on reduction in conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe.

He said the U.S.A. considered them tangible and substantial and that the U.S.A., for its part, would give a substantive reply.

The U.S. secretary of state pointed out that the two sides still had some differences over the problem of conventional armed forces and armaments and that they should be settled. He went on to say that the United States would conduct serious negotiations on this issue.

At the same time the U.S. secretary of state said that while being flexible the United States should also display firmness.

It followed from the interview that the United States intends to show such firmness at the NATO Council's forthcoming special session at the level of the heads of state and government in Brussels at the end of May.

Washington considers it one of the main tasks at the meeting to convince its European allies of the need to modernise tactical nuclear missiles deployed on the territory of Western Europe.

Besides, the United States is to settle the dispute with the Federal Republic of Germany over conditions on which talks on this type of armaments may be conducted with the Soviet Union.

Baker maintained that in the past four decades peace had been safeguarded due to nuclear deterrent forces, and emphasised the importance of maintaining them.

Bush Foreign Policy Also Needs 'New Thinking'

LD2505204689 Moscow TASS in English 2007 GMT 25 May 89

[Commentary by TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

Delivering a speech in Connecticut, George Bush, going by reports in the U.S. press, has concluded a series of speeches in which he determined the foreign policy of the current administration. The President of the United States made these speeches at a time when a Soviet perestroyka drive, the assertion of principles of the new political thinking on the international scene opened good prospects for interaction of the USSR and the U.S.A. on a broad range of problems. It is noted with satisfaction in Moscow that the President of the United States, positively appraising Soviet perestroyka, says out loud that the Americans are now ready for a handshake again.

These are not mere words. The Soviet-American talks on strategic arms limitation are resumed in Geneva in June. The dialogue on the limitation and banning of nuclear tests is to be resumed around the same period. Bilateral consultations to ban chemical weapons are in the order of the day. This is, naturally, far from a complete list of facts showing that the Moscow-Washington dialogue that started after a prolonged pause is followed by specific actions.

Both the Soviet press and international public welcome such developments. But to mention only this would mean that not everything is being said. If one closely analyses a series of the President's programme statements, which, as THE WASHINGTON POST notes, are at times full of emotions, rather than specific contents, one cannot fail to note some inconsistencies. On the one hand, the leader of the U.S. Administration admits that dialogue, negotiations mean the sole way of resolving international problems. On the other hand, he declares for the show of the West's strength. On the one hand, there are calls for effective arms control, on the other, there are bows to the military circles which declare for the continuation of the "Star Wars" programme, for the preservation and refining of nuclear weapons in Europe. On the one hand, it is said that the United States is prepared to get down to joint work to settle regional conflicts, on the other, Washington continues pouring oil into the flame of such conflicts, first of all in Afghanistan...

The President's programme speeches mirror the state of things on the present-day political scene of the U.S. where forces of peace and realism are clashing with influential ultra-conservative circles that are not interested in preserving continuity. Hence Washington's inclination toward wait-and-see tactics and hence outdated ideological rhetoric which at times replaces real politics. It would not be amiss to recall a statement in THE WALL STREET JOURNAL which says that because of Washington's inability to answer Gorbachev's bold steps the United States might let slip a historic change of ending the cold war.

Commenting on the President's speech in Connecticut, the CBS Television Network noted on Wednesday that that speech delivered on the eve of the NATO summit and imbued with skeptical approaches, gives raise to

anxiety of the United States' West European allies. Not only people in Western Europe have ground for such anxiety. In order to preserve and build up on the positive things that have already been achieved in international affairs, it is necessary to give up once and for all the faulty postulate that new political thinking is something the Soviet Union needs only, whereas the United States, allegedly, has nothing to change in its policy...

New U.S. SNF Position Seen as 'Sop' to NATO

PM2505145989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch under the general rubric "Panorama of International Events" and the general headline "Differences Remain"]

[Text]

Washington

The latest U.S.-French summit followed somewhat unusual protocol. The U.S. President did not receive President F. Mitterrand of France in the White House but on his estate at Kennebunkport, Maine, which has been in the possession of the Bush family since 1902.

Journalists have not missed any of these details. However, they were, of course, mainly interested in what took place in the discussion on the international situation. F. Mitterrand's visit to the United States is viewed, above all, in the general context of mutual relations between the United States and its West European allies and the situation inside NATO.

Representatives of Western Europe are currently the most frequent visitors to Washington. Each of these meetings here invariably centers on the discussion of specific USSR proposals. This topic was the subject of discussion also during the current Franco-American dialogue.

At a joint news conference Bush said the two presidents had discussed the opportunities opening up within the framework of East-West relations in connection with the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. The United States and France share the viewpoint that it is necessary to pass on from the policy of deterrence to positive mutual relations with the USSR, and they agree that a process of coming out of the state of "cold war" is currently underway, although, as the U.S. President put it, this process may take a long time.

Press and television reviews point out that it has emerged that the positions of Washington and Paris with regard to tactical nuclear arms apparently coincide. This was received as a new development and has evoked extensive comment. France's position is known and is described as more flexible than the U.S. position. Paris believes European security can be ensured not just through the improvement of arms, but also by means of the lowering of the levels of military confrontation on the continent. France does not reject out of hand the idea of talks on the tactical arsenal, but links them with other questions, and specificially with conventional arms. It advocates that the missiles in Europe should not be replaced until 1992.

Therefore, the main attention focused on the U.S. position. Here, too, observers sought the answer to the key question: Has it changed? Washington stated firmly on the eve of F. Mitterrand's visit that "negotiations on tactical nuclear arms would be a mistake..." This was stated by U.S. Secretary of State Baker, for instance. And he added: "...unless they (that is, the negotiations) are underpinned by the acceptance of essential conditions." Judging by appearances, observers perceived this remark as a sign of rapprochment between the French and U.S. positions. Subsequently, reports with references to official sources appeared in the press claiming that the United States "is changing its position."

The administration is concerned at the fact that its intransigent position has met with condemnation in Bonn and other West European capitals. It has been subjected to sharp criticism also in the United States, including in Congressional circles. And most important of all, it is faced with the development of a crisis situation within NATO. Therefore, the references to a change of position on the part of the United States, and also the reports that have appeared to the effect that Washington has shown willingness to conduct talks on reducing tactical missiles are being viewed by observers "as a sop to NATO." At the end of May a summit meeting within the framework of this alliance is to take place in Brussels. The alliance will be marking its 40th anniversary and "the United States does not want to cast a shadow on this event," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes. Washington is getting ready for the summit, aware of the fact that it is necessary "to smooth over many rough edges and dampen the thrust of the criticism that is coming in its direction." Time will show whether it is a question of a sop or of steps in the direction of realism.

U.S. Businessmen Visit at AUCCTU Invitation

LD2505185789 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—What can sympathising Americans do to help perestroyka? Which direction will reforms in the USSR take after the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies which opened today? And, finally, what new possibilities in Soviet-American relations are opened by perestroyka? These and many other questions on economic and social aspects of Soviet perestroyka were raised at a briefing which was held here today for a group of U.S. businessmen, staying in the USSR at the invitation of the [All-Union] Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR (AUCCTU).

The briefing was attended, from the American side, by senior officials of the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce and also such large and well-known firms and companies as "Delta Airlines," "Coca Cola," "Holder," "Intelligent Systems," etc., and from the Soviet side—AUCCTU representatives.

Speaking on behalf of the American delegation, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit to Moscow and Tbilisi. "Your meetings in the USSR made us confident that Soviet perestroyka is in real ernest," he said and noted that in the course of negotiations the American delegation paid special attention to the possibility of expanding business cooperation with Soviet partners. Such possibilities are better now than ever before, he said.

Ethics Rules Delay Bush Appointments

PM2605112989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
21 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent L. Koryavin dispatch under the "Event: Essence and Opinion" rubric: "The'100 Days' Are Over but Vacancies Remain: Summary of G. Bush's Ethical Rules"]

[Text] Washington—The traditional "100 days" were over long ago. As is well known, they represent a milestone for each new U.S. President. It is during that period that the Cabinet is formed and its general political line elaborated.

The Bush administration has not completed either task yet. The Cabinet proper has been formed, but there are still quite a few gaps in the lists of the top officials in all 14 government departments. There is a particularly large number of vacancies in the Defense Department and the State Department.

The so called transitional team was set up to help the President form the state apparatus. Its term is up and its appropriations were limited to the "100 days" timetable, but it continues to function because it must present an extensive "character background" on each of the nominees. Herein is one answer to the question of why it has taken so long to staff the administration.

To a certain extent the President himself is "to blame" here. Immediately after his election Bush set a whole series of strict criteria for the selection of candidates and placed "ethical and moral qualities" first. The set of ethical rules devised by Bush was submitted to Congress. Both houses approved the thus augmented law on government ethics. The President signed it and then "shelved" it. After the "100 days" they have begun talking about a new period in Washington—the "60 days": That is how long the President has suspended the new law.

When elaborating his "moral code," Bush's aim was to avoid the situations that so often befell his predecessors. Although the Reagan administration became part of history 4 months ago, scandal continues to echo around it unabated. Everyone has long since forgotten about former Interior Secretary Watt. Recently, however, the press recalled his name, in the same context as other secretariess in the Reagan administration who were embroiled in financial machinations. It was revealed that at one time Watt received $300,000 from a real estate firm in Maryland for acting as its "godfather" in the placing of a government contract. In other words, in exchange for a bribe he "pushed" the draft law the firm needed through the Cabinet and Congress. The affair was so dubious that Congress passed a decision to halt the construction program in Maryland "before the investigation of all the circumstances," even though the program was in the completion stage.

Furthermore, the scandals in which Reagan's former ministers were embroiled are just the tip of the iceberg. The bulk of it consists of illegal operations by a large number of officials of considerably lower rank, but whose services were nevertheless generously recompensed.

Many see the main cause of the rash of epidemics in what America calls the "revolving door" policy. The essence of that policy is the movement of one group of people from the administration to the big firms and back again. The type of work remains unchanged: the military sphere, industry, construction, and so forth. On leaving to enter business the former official takes a specific form of "capital" with him—connections and a knowledge of official Washington. And when moving from business into the administration he does not forget the interests of the concern with which he is linked.

It was that established "tradition" that prompted Bush to devise new ethical rules. But it also forced the President to defer the newly adopted law for 60 days. Not just because a large number of contenders for high office failed the test of moral maturity. In addition to that a whole series of people who have already received government appointments have hurriedly resigned: for example, 26 high-ranking NASA officials, guided by the principle that it is better to leave early than be exposed later.

Another reason for these events is the growing exactingness of Congress toward the government apparatus. Few want to run the risk. After all, it is during the confirmation process in Congress that the potential members of the administration are threatened with loss of moral standing. And in the United States that invariably means the end of a political career.

U.S. 'Young Leaders' Head Interviewed

PM1805084189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 May 89 p 3

[Interview with Steven Keys, president of the American center for young leaders, by O. Shevtsov in Moscow: "Leaders Are Not Born"; date of interview not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A delegation from the American Center for Young Leaders is paying a working visit to our country. The delegation visited the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office. The center's president, Steven Keys, here talks about the development of the center's cooperation with Soviet youth organizations.

[Shevtsov] What does the center do and what are its objectives?

[Keys] The center was set up in 1984 as a public organization in view of the need to develop the international aspects of young American leaders' activity. The center is designed to promote the creation of conditions conducive to the forming of links and the establishment of long-term contacts among American leaders and the prospective leaders of other countries.

Our objective is to encourage the development of relations, in this case with the USSR, in all spheres—the economy, politics, science, social problems, ecology, information exchange, and so forth. We therefore stress the need to improve mutual understanding and cooperation among those who will occupy key positions at a local, national, and global level in the next 40 years.

[Shevtsov] Your center is a nongovernmental organization and has no particular political standpoint. Nevertheless, the USIA is one of your sponsors. Do you experience any interference from this state agency?

[Keys] We have good relations with the government. It regards us as an important body that helps form and develop in young American leaders an international perspective on problems. Moreover, as a nongovernmental organization, the center has unique opportunities to maintain and develop ties with countries with which official institutions either cannot deal or are restricted in their initiatives by political considerations. The Administration sees potential in us for "building bridges" in a direct way considerably more quickly than in interstate relations. Incidentally, our income from the USIA amounts to less than 5 percent of our budget. This is a matter of principle for us as it allows us to maintain the independence of our policy of developing mutual understanding even if tension mounts between our countries. We obtain the rest of our funds from private foundations, individuals, and corporations.

[Shevtsov] Young leaders are the main focus of the center's activity. What criteria are used to select them in the United States and other countries?

[Keys] At home, in the United States, we invite into our programs basically people aged 25-40 who have shown leadership qualities and who occupy key positions in business, politics, science, and other fields. That does not mean that we limit the range of members solely to those who have already established themselves at the top of the managerial hierarchy. When businessmen or scientists apply to take part in our international programs, the center studies their curricula vitae, and if our specialists rate them as potential leaders, we invite them along. In other countries we rely entirely in the choice of young leaders on our partners, in the USSR, for example, we rely on the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR [CYO] and the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol]. Restructuring in your country is therefore broadening the potential for cooperation and the actual implementation of our plans. The more democratic our partner organizations are and the more open they are to the whole of society, the more objective are the criteria in selecting really progressive and talented young people rather than just party functionaries.

[Shevtsov] This isn't, of course, your first time in the USSR, what's the aim of this visit?

[Keys] Yes, I have been to the Soviet Union more than 30 times. The center leadership delegation has come to Moscow now for talks with the Soviet side to broaden cooperation—political, scientific, technical, and economic ties. An unprecedented meeting between the two countries' "burgeoning leaders" was held in the United States in December 1988. It was organized by the center and the CYO. The tentative date for the return meeting in Leningrad is April 1990. Moreover, we have signed six new programs for exchanges and cooperation in science and technology with the Young Scientists' Association for 1990. Six common programs, which are part of previously concluded agreements with the CYO and the Komsomol, will start up this June. There will be 360 people altogether on each side taking part in the 12 programs.

[Shevtsov] Why do you attach such significance to representatives of the mass media in the center's programs?

[Keys] We get the bulk of our information from newspapers and television. But sometimes the mass media treat many phenomena of modern life in a simplistic and one-sided way, particularly in the United States. However, the problem is one common to our countries. They still must learn to assess today's realities more objectively. This requires that some kind of common understanding of many things be worked out. This is also a question of greater mutual trust. That is why dialogue between representatives of both countries' mass media is so important. We want up-and-coming journalists and representatives of youth newspapers, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, for example, to get involved. Our center has a special commission with a very intensive program on the mass media which, we hope, will help them become more open and objective.

China

Government Moves To End Student Unrest Reported

Army, Li Peng Advocate End to Disorder

LD2505185889 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 25 TASS—By TASS Correspondents Andrey Kirillov and Vyacheslav Tomilin:

A mass demonstration in the centre of Beijing and a speech by Premier of the State Council Li Peng about the state of affairs in China which was transmitted in a TV evening news bulletin, were the May 25 highlights.

A mammoth demonstration, which began in the afternoon, involved students of Beijing higher educational establishments and students from other cities, workers of mass media and the state committee for a reform of the economic system, representatives of a number of democratic parties and informal organisations. Demonstrators carried posters, reading "We demand an extraordinary session of the National People's Congress" and "An immediate enlarged plenary meeting of the Communist Party of China Central Committee," "Martial law be lifted" and "Student movement is no chaos".

Transport traffic was to a major extent disrupted in Beijing. All was calm in its other districts.

The general staff, the main political administration, and the Chinese Army Logistics Department addressed a letter to the officers and men who had come to Beijing to enforce martial law in a number of city districts. Stability not only in the capital but also in the whole country depends on actions of army units, the letter says.

An insignificant number of troublemakers are still fomenting disagreement, the address said. If one allows them to continue their intrigues, then successes achieved by the people in the ten years of reforms and open policy, socialist modernisation could be undermined.

Speaking in Zhongnanhai at a meeting with newly appointed ambassadors of a number of states today, Premier of the State Council Li Peng said that the situation in China is now abnormal, and disorders are being witnessed in a number of places.

The Chinese Government is stable, he stressed, and it is capable of performing its functions and taking measures to solve the problems which have arisen. The premier underlined the constitutional character of the decision on martial law in a number of Beijing districts to ensure safety of the citizens and their property, normal operation of national and city institutions, and mass media.

Martial law is not military rule, said Li Peng. Explaining why troops did not enter the center of the city, he noted that the people have not yet fully realised the meaning of what is happening. The army is displaying the utmost restraint to avoid clashes.

"It was exactly Deng Xiaoping who stood at the sources of the Chinese reform," Li Peng said. The reform and the open policy are staying on, he stressed, and expressed the hope that other countries, in the first place those which maintain friendly relations with China, would not interfere in its internal affairs.

Speaking at a briefing for Chinese and foreign journalists, a representative of the Chinese Foreign Ministry's Press Department said that Zhao Ziyang is, as before, general secretary of the Communist Party of China Central Committee. It was noted that "there were no changes" in the Communist Party of China leadership, the Government of China, the National People's Congress and the Armed Forces of the country. At the briefing it was also noted that chairman Yang Shangkun postponed his visit to a number of Latin American countries.

The XINHUA News Agency reported from Shanghai that Wan Li, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, who arrived in that city from the United States, will stay in that city for treatment.

Army Appeal Says Reforms 'in Jeopardy'

OW2605040889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 May 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] A mass demonstration has been held again in the center of Beijing. Our correspondent Vladimir Kulikov describes over the telephone what is happening in Beijing right now. [video shows still of Beijing's Palace Museum as audio carries Kulikov's telephoned report]

[Kulikov] Military patrols cannot be seen in the center of the city and this is true for Tiananmen Square as well. However some institutions in the Chinese capital have been placed under Army guard. The newspaper RENMIN RIBAO has published a letter from the three leading administrations of the Chinese PLA—the General Staff, the Political Department, and the Logistics Department.

It stresses that the Army has become a participant in the serious political struggle on whose outcome the state's fate depends. It further says: We believe that at this time of difficult trial the Chinese PLA will be equal to the situation. The appeal further notes that the successes of the reforms achieved by our country's people in the past 10 years are in jeopardy. The majority of people in the course of the disturbances are attempting to come out against the party and against socialism.

The newspapers are carrying reports from many provinces of China that support the address of Li Peng, chairman of the State Council, and Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC, at a meeting in Beijing. You will recall that it was precisely at this meeting that the decision to adopt martial law in a number of areas of the Chinese capital was adopted.

Li Message Asks Army To 'Stop Disorder'

LD2605090289 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 26 TASS—A message to army personnel signed by Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng was sent by the State Council on Thursday.

The message expresses hope that troops will overcome all difficulties to successfully introduce martial law and will help stop disorder and provide stability and unity, the Chinese XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reported.

Beijing Returns to 'Normal'

LD2605081289 Moscow TASS in English 0748 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 26 TASS—By TASS Correspondents Vladimir Kashirov and Oleg Mastyukov:

The situation in the Chinese capital is marked today by a more dynamic return to normal life and work. Beijing Radio has reported that practically all public transport facilities were available today morning. More than 80 percent of the factory and office workers have resumed work at industrial enterprises. The shops, markets and public services are functioning normally. Lessons have been resumed at more than 100 secondary special educational establishments of the capital.

The number of students now on a sit-down strike in Tiananmen Square has dwindled 90 percent, from three thousand to 300 men.

All this has allowed the city authorities to start cleaning today the heavily littered central square. Students, who had come to the capital to back their Beijing counterparts, have started to leave for home. The Chinese press published today telegrams addressed to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party, the State Council and the Military Council of the CPC Central Committee supporting the decision to declare martial law in several districts of Beijing.

MOSCOW NEWS Views 'New Stage' in PRC Ties

LD2405144689 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—The Sino-Soviet summit meeting heralded a new stage in relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, writes the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS today, citing Mikhail Gorbachev's assessment of the event.

The new stage will not be a replica of that of the 50's, when relations between the two countries were based on the 1950 treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual help. The Soviet-Chinese military union, prompted by geopolitical realities of the time, was regarded by many Asian-Pacific states as a potential security threat.

Allied commitments also complicated Soviet-Chinese relations because of different foreign policy goals.

The following three decades of estrangement and even confrontation between China and the Soviet Union ended the "monolithic unity" between the two countries, but did little to dissipate tensions in the region: The outside world held its breath waiting for catastrophe.

Normalisation in Soviet-Chinese relations removed the lid, letting the steam out of nearly four decades of tension. However, some differences remain.

Not all is clear about the Kampuchean settlement, and decisions on the Soviet-Chinese border in some places have been left for the future. It also seems that Moscow and Beijing have a different view of present-day international relations.

Normalisation in relations between the Soviet and Chinese Communist parties is also a major result of Mikhail Gorbachev's trip to China.

Moscow and Beijing must go further along the road, from proclaiming principles to implementing them in practice, and this is no easy task. However, the Beijing summit offered the two peoples a key to attaining this aim. The task now is not to allow difficulties to become obstacles.

Unfortunately, both China and the Soviet Union face some difficulties. But it is not likely that they will prevent the Soviet and Chinese people from sailing smoothly through the third stage in their relations.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Reaction to USSR-PRC Summit Mixed

PM2505141189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Kuchko dispatch: "For the Good of the World Community. Japanese Press on the Soviet Leader's Visit to China"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] How do people in Tokyo regard the first meeting in 30 years between the leaders of the USSR and the PRC, which, according to YOMIURI, was the "most important political event of the year in the international arena?" Democratic circles, sensible

politicians, and the press agree that the complete normalization of relations between these two great countries not only opens new pages in the history of Soviet-Chinese ties, but also benefits the whole world community. [passage omitted]

At the same time one cannot fail to point out that the shift in USSR-Chinese relations does not suit everyone on the Japanese islands. Conservative circles and supporters of the country's rearming see this event as a threat to their ambitious plans. SANKEI SHIMBUN, for instance, is alarmed that "...henceforth the West's chances of exploiting Soviet-Chinese confrontation for its own interests are considerably reduced."

However, by no means everyone shares this opinion. Japanese attitudes to events in Beijing can be described using MAINICHI's words: "When considering the new character of Soviet-Chinese relations, Japan has no cause for concern; Soviet-Chinese detente can only be welcomed as a factor for stability in international relations."

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodian Developments Instill Hope for Peace

PM2605092189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by correspondent B. Vinogradov: "Cambodia: Without a Curfew"]

[Text] Phnom Penh—The curfew introduced in Phnom Penh over 10 years ago after the city's liberation from the Pol Pot supporters has been repealed. Of course, armed patrols are still to be encountered at the crossroads, and the self defense detachments serve vigilantly at the entrance to the capital, but the long-awaited verdict of the municipality was received with universal rejoicing.

And not because it heralded the advent of a peaceful routine and repealed the bans and restrictions hampering normal life, but probably because it lifted a mental load from the hearts of Phnom Penh's inhabitants, rid them of their daily, or to be more precise nightly tension, and opened a new page, so to speak, in the biography of the city, and indeed perhaps of the whole country.

In any case, journalists, commenting on the event, are using fine-sounding epithets in describing the "current moment." They are writing of a "turning point," a "decisive stage," a "final accord" in the Cambodian problem. Here of course, they take into account not only the administrative decree repealing the curfew, but also the entire range of events that have taken place here recently.

The Constitution, updated at the recent extraordinary session of the National Assembly, reflected not only the outward attributes of the statehood that has formed over 10 years of development (the country's flag, coat of arms, anthem, and official name), but also important changes in the economic and social sphere. It defined more precisely Cambodia's present status as a unified, neutral, nonaligned, peaceful, democratic, independent, and sovereign country, repealing the previous formulation that affected its "advance along the path toward socialism." The fundamental law enshrines the role of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] as the leading and guiding force of Cambodian society. Buddhism is recognized as the state religion. I think there are no political illogicalities here. Proceeding from the most urgent tasks and displaying readiness for compromise, the Phnom Penh government is consistently and vigorously leading matters toward national conciliation.

At the last round of dialogue with head of government Hun Sen, Prince Norodom Sihanouk expressed satisfaction over the changes made to the Constitution and promised to "study attentively all its articles and then give his comments." But Sihanouk's conclusions are not shared by all representatives of the Khmer emigres. For instance, Son Sann has rejected the amended Constitution as the basis for conciliation, stating that it has been "adopted unilaterally without the agreement of the other sides."

The "Khmer Rouge," while seeming not to reject dialogue, are blatantly adopting a wait and see stance, at the same time regrouping their force dispositions and camps on Thai territory. To all appearances, they are counting on using their military strength "as a final argument."

Therefore, the forces that are really interested in establishing lasting peace in Cambodia are faced with the serious question of preventing a civil war after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. Not an outbreak of new bloodshed but a cease-fire and the creation of a quadripartite national conciliation council should be on the agenda immediately after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers. Hun Sen believes that this council, which it is proposed will be headed by Sihanouk, should prepare and hold general elections and on their basis form a new coalition government. Here the elections should take place under international control without any interference in the course of the voting.

The program would seem to be acceptable to all. But Sihanouk and Son Sann have still not abandoned their plan to create a coalition cabinet until the elections. What can be said on this subject? Here, for instance, is the opinion of ASIAWEEK, an authoritative Asian journal: "It is hard to imagine that an entirely capable government with a strong army and real power would voluntarily renounce its powers and abandon the leadership of the country." This, of course, refers to the government that has existed in People's Cambodia for over 10 years and which is now headed by Hun Sen. As for Sihanouk's other demand—the establishment of a multiparty system in the future Cambodia—Phnom Penh treats this point with understanding and is ready to accept it.

The situation taking shape thus instills the hope that the largest hotbed of tension in Southeast Asia, a hotbed that has been smoldering for many years now, can be extinguished in the very near future. In this connection the Cambodian capital welcomed with great satisfaction the results of the Soviet-Chinese summit, whose participants unanimously confirmed that they will continue to make efforts to promote the speediest just and rational settlement of the Cambodian problem by political means. Addressing a mass meeting in Phnom Penh last Sunday to commemorate the victims of the Pol Pot regime, Chea Soth, member of the KPRP Central Committee Politburo, assessing highly the results of the talks in Beijing, expressed the firm conviction that they will make a positive contribution to the measures the Cambodian sides are undertaking to achieve national conciliation.

Vietnam-China Border Links, Trade Profiled

PM2205130789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 May 89 p 3

[Correspondent A. Romashko dispatch: "Kilometer Zero. 10 Years Ago This Was the Front Line. Today Thousands of Civilians Freely Cross the Vietnam-China Border"]

[Text] Hanoi—Nonetheless, we covered the last few kilometers to the border accompanied by combat engineers. One of them, having gone on ahead, suddenly raised his right hand. For us this was the signal to stop. The soldier carefully crouched down, gesticulated for a minute over a suspicious rut in the tarmac, then got up, waved his hand, and carefully moved on. We realized that there were no mines and gave a sigh of relief...

When we finally reached the outpost at kilometer zero, Lieutenant Colonel Mai Sua [as transliterated], commander of a border unit in Lang Son Province, decided to reassure everyone. The road, he said—or rather what was left of it since the 1979 conflict—was long ago swept of mines and subsequently checked several times by combat engineers. But additional precautions had been taken for our group of journalists.

The border area was once riddled with Chinese and Vietnamese mines and unexploded shells. They were found in paddy fields, river crossings, and mountain tracks. Several people were blown up in these areas. Even now explosions can sometimes echo around the rocky ravines, reminding us of those tragic days when the border between good neighbors suddenly turned into a battlefield.

"Things are much calmer now," Lieutenant Colonel Mai said. "I have served here for 29 years, and it seems to me that we are gradually going back to the way things were in the fifties and sixties. Then we lived alongside the Chinese like brothers. There wasn't a single family that did not have relatives or friends on the other side. People visited each other freely. They exchanged goods and helped each other out when the harvest failed. The people have not forgotten this and are now trying to restore the broken ties themselves."

But in fact, these ties were not broken even during the most dangerous days, or rather nights, because they were maintained mainly by smugglers. Thousands of Vietnamese and Chinese are now legally and freely following their tracks across the border.

"We do not prevent this," Mai continued. "We just try to bring some kind of order to this spontaneous movement. We have ordered the engineers to carefully check the busiest paths and roads, particularly between neighboring villages. And not for nothing; we have discovered mines that have miraculously remained undetonated. We have also met with the locals, reminding them of the regulations covering visits in the border zone, and showed them the most convenient and safest places to cross. Together with activists from neighboring communes' self-defense forces, we have organized duty watches in these areas. Today virtually every inhabitant of local towns and villages can freely cross over into Chinese territory, just as Chinese on the other side of the border can come here to visit their relatives, friends, and trading partners."

[Romashko] "How many people cross the border each day here?"

"Probably no one can put an exact figure on it," the border guard answered after a short pause. "And not because it's a secret. It's just that nobody keeps those figures. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of mountain trails, and you can't post a soldier on every one."

It was drizzling in a fine mist. The lunchtime rest period was over. Pedestrians and cyclists were moving past our post.

Many people stopped near us to rest or ask people going in the opposite direction what they were selling and for how much. This is not an idle question, since, owing to the almost complete dominance of the free market in the country, prices can change every day.

We went up to an elderly man sitting on a boulder. We got acquainted. Ngo Van was the former chairman of the people's committee at Mai Pha Commune, which is not far from here. "I'm retired now," he added, pouring the water out of his rubber shoe—he had stumbled when crossing a rain-swollen stream.

[Romashko] "What made you take such a long journey in such bad weather and with such a heavy load?"

"Life did," the former chairman answered seriously, glancing at my companions. "You can't live on just a pension or a salary these days. You won't get rich by being a peasant either. They say Hanoi has adopted a new land law. It's a good law that finally gives us a

chance to be real masters of our holdings and whatever they produce. But it's a long way from Hanoi to us, particularly when there are various offices and administrations in the way. And they are swarming with bureaucrats, all of whom are fed by the peasants' fields. So I've decided to do a bit of foreign trade in my old age.

"No, we're not starving, of course," the old man added, again glancing at my companions. "There's enough rice, thank god. There's a buffalo, hogs, hens, a small carp pond, and a small truck garden. But prices keep going up, and in order to keep pace you have to trade. All the more so as this benefits us and the Chinese."

[Romashko] "What do you trade?"

[Ngo Van] "We take them rice, poultry, dried meat and fish, woven mats, and straw hats. We bring back crockery, fabrics, vacuum bottles, beer, clothes, footwear, electric goods, and tape recorders."

[Romashko] "And what kind of profit do you make?"

[Ngo Van] "Around 20-30,000 dong a day (approximately half the monthly salary of a worker or state employee) We could earn even more if we did it seriously.

"It's not just trade that attracts us over the border," old Van went on. "Peoples who have common roots, languages, customs, ways of life, and religions have been living on either side of the border for thousands of years. Our village—and we belong to the Thai ethnic group—has always been renowned for its pretty girls, and we have often been visited by bachelors from across the mountains. And we have acquired relatives in China. So today I'm not just taking goods over there, but good news for a Chinese lad. Relatives of the girl who's caught his eye have invited him and his parents to visit with them to get acquainted."

If we carefully watched our step on our way toward the border, fearing mines that, as it turned out, had long been defused, we were no less cautious in taking our first steps into the marketplace of the Lang Son Province center. Only now we were trying to find dry patches of land so as not to sink into the rain-sodden and churned-up mud. But we soon realized that it was useless, and started walking among the traders with no regard to the puddles...

Despite the bad weather, the market was full of people. And it seemed to us that there were far more traders than customers. In this situation we might have hoped for lower prices than usual. However, the prices were little different from those in Hanoi. So why has everything gotten more expensive? Because, we were told, tariffs on goods imported from China were recently raised once again.

"This is one of the measures used in an attempt to diminish, if only slightly, the 'trading fever' in the border provinces," Lang Lam, deputy chairman of the Lang Son Province People's Control Committee, confirmed. "The development of ties between neighboring peoples can only be welcomed. People have again been able to meet with each other, restore their ties of kinship, and trade with each other. Unfortunately, difficulties have already started arising over trade. This employment has proved to be very profitable, and thousands of peasants, workers, and employees are now ditching their jobs and starting to trade. Many people are now moving closer to the border, leaving their native settlements and villages. Abandoned fields and truck gardens can be found in the province. In certain places offices and repair shops have been left empty. Economic ties within provinces are being broken. Is this normal? Ultimately everyone is, of course, free to choose work that suits them. But then they must observe the regulations laid down for private traders: They must obtain a license, register with the market administration, and pay turnover tax and customs duties.

"The situation, however, is such that most new merchants not only do not have any licenses, but also avoid checkpoints when taking goods across the border. This means that there is no control over the outflow of goods and products that Vietnam particularly needs—rice, rare medicinal plants, gold, and precious stones. In addition, dried squid, shrimps, crab, and other seafood products are exported for hard currency. Moreover, the goods and products that reach the market by avoiding customs duties are cheaper than goods in state stores and cooperatives. Local production, particularly consumer goods, is running up considerable losses.

"This is also the situation in neighboring border provinces. I think the Chinese side is also having certain difficulties in this regard," Lang Lam continued. "It would be stupid to ban trade, but market forces must be curbed in some way. 'Trading fever' is a dangerous disease and must not be allowed to spread."

Thai Call for Burma Rebel Peace Talks Welcomed

BK2505125789 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 25 May 89

[Station observer commentary: "A Very Farsighted Proposal"]

[Text] The Thai prime minister and the other Thai leaders have called on the Burmese Government to start talks with the KNU [Karen National Union] in order to put a halt to the bloody battles at the border. The situation at the common border is very tense, and according to news reports a Thai village there has been destroyed. Although there were no casualties among the villagers, both the Burmese Army and the KNU have suffered heavy losses. Hundreds have been killed while the number of wounded is even greater. These are the

figures for the latest rounds of fighting only. Since the government and the KNU have been fighting for over 40 years, we can guess the high number of casualties the conflict has caused.

The separatist movement in Burma started more than 40 years ago, but it was not because the central government started it. Rangoon believes it started because of instigation by foreign powers that did not want to see the emergence of a self-reliant and unified Burma.

The situation is once once again tense today, but to put it bluntly, it is not because of the ethnic problems in the country but because of the support the KNU is getting from outside the country. This is perhaps why the Karen leaders do not want to give in to the central government or to resolve existing problems at the table. What is worse is that they are stepping up destructive activities this year to politically as well as economically destabilize the country. Moreover, it is common knowledge that the KNU leaders have been earning large incomes derived from hardwood and gem sales, and this only compounds the serious problems facing the Burmese economy.

According to the latest reports from Bangkok, Karen rebels apparently want to give these up. They are said to have declared their willingness to give up arms and hold talks with the central government in Rangoon. One can only welcome such a gesture if it is sincere. It goes without saying that the ongoing tense situation, the armed conflicts, and the deaths are not in the interests of either the Burmese, the Karens, or any other nationality in the country. Burma is in urgent need of stability and tranquility today. Without them, neither the immediate problems nor the hardships can be overcome. Moreover, the whole region, which is already tired of (?regional conflicts), will only welcome such a positive development. The call being made by the Thai leaders is clear proof of this fact.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Denies Soviet Experts in Afghan Army

LD2405191589 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are marking the 70th anniversary of diplomatic relations. Radio Moscow's correspondent has asked the Soviet first deputy foreign minister, Ambassador to Afghanistan Yuliy Vorontsov, to share his opinion of how important this event is to Soviet-Afghan relations.

[Begin recording] [Vorontsov, in Russian, fading into English translation] The 70th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan is a landmark event, especially if one bears in mind the fact that Afghanistan is in a very complicated situation. This event emphasizes the role of the relationship of good neighborliness, friendship, and assistance between the neighboring countries. One can say with confidence that Soviet assistance has been important to Afghanistan's development throughout these 70 years. [end recording]

[Announcer] Ambassador Vorontsov just returned from Kabul. What is his opinion of the situation in Afghanistan?

[Correspondent] The situation is rather complicated because Afghanistan has to protect itself from three rather powerful countries: Pakistan and the United States, and Saudi Arabia which support it, said Yuliy Vorontsov. (?Yet) the situation in most areas is more or less calm. Powerful pressure is exerted from across the Pakistani border. In this connection many events in Afghanistan are viewed differently—for example, the attitude toward the armed opposition. Who are these people? On the Pakistani border they are acting in the interests of Pakistan, the United States, and Saudi Arabia. They are equipped with American weapons and financed by Saudi money. They act on orders and operate in line with military plans worked out by Pakistani generals. In fact, the armed opposition helps foreigners carry out armed actions against their own country.

Beyond doubt, Yuliy Vorontsov went on to say, if the United States, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia had left Afghanistan alone the situation throughout the country would have been similar to that in the northern, western, and southern provinces of that country. In those provinces the Afghan people manage their affairs independently. They establish contacts and carry out talks. This must be the case in the eastern part of the country as well. However, that part of the country, Yuliy Vorontsov said, is being ruled by the ill will of the three countries which have the intention to deny Afghanistan independence. But I believe, the Soviet deputy foreign minsiter pointed out, Afghanistan will win. The country needs political, economic and moral support. This support is rendered by the Soviet Union and other countries.

[Announcer] Nowadays it is often claimed in Pakistan that the defense capability of the Afghan Army is explained by the reappearance of Soviet servicemen in that country. Is this claim justified?

[Correspondent] Yuliy Vorontsov said there are no Soviet Armed Forces in Afghanistan. Afghan pilots are very good flyers indeed. They are courageous and highly skilled Afghan men. Missile strikes on invading Pakistani troops are delivered by the Afghans. I'd like to stress once again there are no Soviet military experts in the Afghan army, said Yuliy Vorontsov in conclusion.

Afghan Supreme Council Rejects Rebel Government

LD2505224889 Moscow TASS in English 2212 GMT 25 May 89

["Statement by Supreme Council for Defence of Motherland"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kabul May 25 TASS—The Afghan people has been hearing for three months and a half now futile promises by gang leaders that power in Afghanistan

would be seized through force to install the so-called "transitional government," formed by Pakistan's special services, in a frontier Afghan town, a statement of the Supreme Council for Defense of Motherland, says. It was distributed by the BAKHTAR news agency today. The Afghan people does not support such a "government." It is not supported either by many commanders of armed anti-government groups, but gang leaders, backed by the Pakistani military, would not give up their provocative designs.

The Supreme Council for Defense of Motherland firmly declares that if attempts are made to install that "government" in one of the areas of the Republic of Afghanistan, its Armed Forces will give a worthy rebuff by taking resolute steps. Gang leaders and their Pakistani supporters will bear the entire responsibility for the perilous consequences of that, the document says.

Rebels Shell Jalalabad; Air Force Bombs Rebels
LD2505184289 Moscow TASS in English 1828 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Kabul May 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov:

In the past twenty four hours rebel troops supported by Pakistani artillery continued shelling the residential quarters of Jalalabad, the administrative centre of Nangarhar Province, and security posts of government troops. The BAKHTAR news agency reported that four civilians were killed and eight people wounded. The extremists subject Khowst District to rocket and artillery fire killing one man and wounding four others. Another two civilians were killed and five wounded in the shelling of populated localities in Helmand Province.

Afghan planes raided rebel positions in Nangarhar Province putting out of action a total of 84 militants.

Workers of the Afghan Ministry of State Security today discovered a large cache of arms and ammunition belonging to extremists in Paghman District, Kabul Province. They disarmed 20 British-made ground-to-ground missiles, ready for launching, and ammunition for mortars. A cache of missiles and mines was rendered harmless in Shakardar District.

Armed clashes between anti-government groups were reported in various regions of Afghanistan. Over the past twenty four hours 15 militants were killed and several dozen wounded in Balkh, Faryab and Parvan provinces.

Despite the persisting tensions in Qandahar Province, refugees continue to return to this region. Over the past 24 hours 700 Afghan citizens returned to Daman District from a long stay abroad.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent two notes to the UN Good Offices Mission which cite fresh Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords.

Rogachev, Indian Officials Discuss Afghanistan
LD2505132389 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] New Delhi May 25 TASS—A regular round of political consultations between the Soviet and Indian foreign ministries on aspects of bilateral relations and the present world situation ended in Delhi today. The Soviet Union was represented by Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev, India by First Deputy Foreign Minister S.K. Singh.

Rogachev met India's state minister for foreign affairs K. Natwar Singh today. Several regional problems, including the Afghan situation and the Kampuchean settlement, were discussed in detail.

Pakistan Urged To Review Policy on Afghanistan
LD2505220589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 25 May 89

[Aleksandr Malikov commentary]

[Text] Foreign information agencies today reported the removal of the head of the Pakistani domestic intelligence service, ISI, Lieutenant General Hamid Gul. This removal, in the opinion of observers, goes far beyond the framework of habitual changes in the Pakistani Army and also in Pakistani domestic events, in general. My colleague Aleksandr Malikov will talk about this in more detail.

[Malikov] The ISI can perhaps be compared with the shadow cabinet, which for many years invisibly influenced not only the domestic political life, but also Pakistani relations with the outside world. Moreover, it influenced them so powerfully that even after the change of the administration, with the arrival of Benazir Bhutto, Pakistani military intelligence had the last word, as before, especially on questions of relations with neighboring Afghanistan. Regarding the future of the now former boss of ISI, who was of one mind with and a close friend of the late President Ziaul Haq, he staunchly continued his hostile policy of interference in Afghan affairs. It was under him that ISI, possessing huge material resources and maintaining well established contacts with the CIA, turned into the main instrument of interference into the domestic affairs of Afghanistan. Without overestimating the significance of the removal of the ISI chief, which, incidentally, no one is preparing to ignore, I will nevertheless note that the departure of this odious figure reflects a certain tendency to review Afghan policy.

To a certain degree these tendencies revealed themselves in the conversation between Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Benazir Bhutto and the correspondent of the U.S. newspaper, THE WASHINGTON POST. Bhutto stressed that she has now decided to take on for herself the important role in the politics of her country regarding Afghanistan. The admission that she made seems to

me to be even more important, that relying in the past on the achievement of a military victory showed itself to be an important mistake and that a political settlement is better than a military one. But is this not a matter of only a change in tactics and not in the essence of the Pakistani approach to a settlement?

The latest announcements by Bhutto, unfortunately, do not remove this question, mainly because on the one hand the hostile attitude of Islamabad to the government of Najibullah is not changing, and on the other hand Islamabad continues to cling to the provisional government as the only alternative to it. Neither of these positions takes into account realities, because both ignore the influence and authority of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and its program, which is, in essence, patriotic. Alongside this it is obvious that Islamabad is continuing to spur on to a seizure of power a minority of the opposition which is obedient to its will and which has turned its hands to being a common hireling. This handful of people clearly does not represent anyone but themselves.

It is obvious that now not a cosmetic but a cardinal review of Pakistan's policy with regard to the neighboring country is suggesting itself, a review that would at last lead to a conscientious fulfillment of all the provisions of the Geneva agreements. Only in such a case will the words of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto about a desire, by way of a political resolution, to save the lives of innocent people acquire real content.

Konarev Applauds Iran Visit, Gas Imports

NC2405124789 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Dear listeners, a Soviet economic delegation headed by Nikolay Konarev, Soviet minister of roads and transportation who also heads the Soviet side of the permanent Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation committee, was in Iran from 11 to 18 May. After Nikolay Konarev's return to Moscow, our correspondent met him and asked him to discuss his impressions of his stay in Iran and describe the outlook for Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation.

Konarev said: The main objective behind our visit to Iran was to inspect the process of implementing the decisions adopted during the 11th session of the Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation committee held in late 1987. We were convinced that many of the objectives set at that time are being successfully fulfilled. However, neither side is satisfied with the volume and extent of activities. Today we are ready to go further in expanding relations between the two countries and to expand our cooperation. Thus, one of the most important objectives we discussed with the Iranians was compiling a program for a long-term agreement on economic-scientific-technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iran. This agreement is to be signed during the upcoming visit to Moscow by Iran's Majlis Speaker 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

Nikolay Konarev added: We also discussed drafting an agreement on cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iran in some fields, namely, an agreement on purchasing Iranian [natural] gas, and on cooperation in agriculture, transportation, machine-building, metallurgy, energy, fishing, mine exploration and exploitation, and scientific-technical cooperation.

Our correspondent asked: How were the talks, and are you satisfied with their outcome.

Nikolay Konarev answered: The talks were successful and were carried out in a constructive atmosphere of goodwill and wishes for the solution of all problems that arose during the talks. We met with Petroleum Minister Gholam Reza Aqazadeh, Energy Minister Bijan Namdar-Zangeneh, Heavy Industries Minister Behzad Nabavi, Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development 'Isa Kalantari, Minister of Roads and Transport Mohammad Seyyed Kya, and members of other ministries and departments. In nearly all fields the vista of mutually beneficial cooperation emerged. We especially want to refer to the resumption of Iranian natural gas deliveries to the Soviet Union. The export of gas is the main source for the purchase of the Soviet technical equipment so necessary for ensuring the progress of industries, machine-building, energy, and metallurgy—in other words, for the progress of (?most) Iranian industries.

During the talks new aspects of cooperation emerged. For example, the Iranians expressed interest in purchasing aircraft from the Soviet Union and in expanding relations in establishing satellite and television telecommunications.

Nikolay Konarev said: Today we can justly say that Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation is entering a new phase, and this is to the benefit of our two nation's interests and will help consolidate friendly relations between two neighboring countries who, in addition to their joint borders, have many common points in culture, art, and history.

Turkmen, Azerbaijan Trade Talks in Iran Noted

NC2505095089 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] The USSR-Iran Permanent Commission for Economic Cooperation held a practical meeting in Tehran from 11 to 18 May. The meeting examined matters related to the question of further developing and strengthening the long-term and mutually beneficial [word indistinct] and economic and trade relations between the two countries. The main focus was on the

preparations to be made for signing a number of documents on these matters during Islamic Majlis Speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani's upcoming visit to the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the aspects of cooperation between the two parties were established for a number of fields in which they are interested, including border trade.

The talks on this matter were attended by representatives from Iran's border provinces and by representatives from the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and Azerbaijan SSR. The delegation from our republic was [word indistinct], and Dadash Asanov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, was [word indistinct].

During the talks the parties approved the effort made by the border republics and the organizations, companies, and cooperatives in the Iranian provinces to develop and broaden their businesslike relations. The sides also coordinated on matters related to the question of creating suitable conditions for their relations.

According to the agreement reached, [words indistinct] will be drawn up in the bordering republics and the Iranian provinces, and the sides will exchange (?lists) indicating the commodities they want to export or import within a short period of time.

CPSU Representative Meets Moroccan Leaders

PM2505124989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings in Rabat"]

[Text] Rabat, 23 May—A.M. Moskvichev, CPSU representative and USSR deputy health minister, who was taking part in the work of the 12th Istiqlal Party National Congress, had meetings here with its Secretary General M. Boucetta, the leadership of the Party of Progress and Socialism, and Moroccan Health Minister T. Bencheikh. In the course of the conversations the sides expressed a mutual desire to further develop Soviet-Moroccan relations and sociopolitical ties.

East Europe

CSSR's Fojtik Cited on Need To Defend Past

PM2505142789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "For Sound Criticism"]

[Text] It is necessary to stand up resolutely in defense of the values and achievements of socialism. J. Fojtik, secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee and Presidium member, stated this during a speech at the North-Bohemian kray party aktiv in Usti nad Labem.

This means, he said, that we must defend the past and condemn everything that discredited the party and socialism, while not allowing principled criticism to develop into the justification of a camouflaged counterrevolution of every hue and into attempts to restore its ideological platform. It also follows that we should defend the present, explaining the necessity and the irreversibility of the process of restructuring and democratization. Relying on all honest people, we will aim for success in restructuring on the platform of the National Front and of the political system created in our country by the revolution.

The difficulties now affecting socialism, the speaker went on to note, are a result of the fact that we have not always reacted in an adequate way or at the right time to the new demands of development. This is why we took the course of carrying out major changes which, we are convinced, will strengthen socialism.

PRAVDA Reports Jaruzelski-Honecker Talks in Berlin

PM2505104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Berlin, 23 May—Friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states is an important precondition for the GDR and Poland's further successful progression along the path of socialism. This is stated in a report published here on the results of the friendly visit to the GDR by W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Worker's Party Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, and his talks with E. Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

The two countries' leaders noted with satisfaction that there has been progress in lessening the threat of war owing to the coordinated peace policy being implemented by socialist countries and the efforts of all forces of reason and realism. E. Honecker and W. Jaruzelski described the proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact states at the Vienna talks for a radical reduction in armed forces and conventional arms in Europe as an extremely timely step aimed at putting an end to the continuing arms race.

In connection with the 50th anniversary of fascist Germany's attack on Poland and the beginning of World War II, both countries' leaders indicated the need to use every effort to preserve peace. They voiced their concern regarding the activity of neofascist forces in the FRG and West Berlin and called for this development to be opposed.

E. Honecker and W. Jaruzelski noted with satisfaction the consistent development of the traditional friendly relations between both socialist states.

USSR-GDR Cooperation in Sciences Discussed

LD2405041689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1616 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—In Moscow today, ministers, state secretaries, and economic experts of the GDR and SSR discussed at the 42d session of the two countries' joint government commissions ways in which top performance can be reached more quickly in important areas, and efficiency and cooperation in research, development, and production can be visibly raised through progressive forms of joint labor.

For example, Herbert Weiz, GDR vice premier and minister of science and technology, and Kirill Dyumayev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, discussed tasks and goals in scientific-technical cooperation. Further experts' agreements are to be reached in this area by September. The continuation of plan coordination for the 1991-95 period and the clear specification of existing agreements, as well as the preparation of new ones in the area of scientific-technical cooperation were discussed.

A meeting between Felix Meier, GDR minister of electrical engineering and electronics, and his Soviet counterpart, Vladislav Kolesnikov, centered on further cooperation in microelectronics in the next 5-year plan period. Joint work is aimed primarily at technologies for the manufacture of 1-megabit and 4-megabit switching circuits, and for cooperation between the countries in electrical engineering. An agreement on cooperation in the development and production of computer tomographs was prepared for signature, thus creating improved diagnostic conditions for the two countries' health services.

Intensifying the production of fiberglass and of products made from it was the subject of a discussion between Professor Karl Gruenheid, minister of the glass and ceramics industry, and Yuriy Bespalov, USSR minister of the chemical industry. Among other things, the aim of joint efforts should be the saving of electrical energy and gas in the manufacture of these materials, as well as the development of processes and equipment for cleaning waste gas in the chemical and glass industries. The GDR minister also conferred with Mikhail Busin, minister of the timber industry, and Sergey Voyenushkin, minister of the building materials industry.

Future reciprocal deliveries of chemical products, the initiation of new cooperation relations, and agreement on themes for scientific-technical cooperation in the 1991-95 period were discussed by Guenther Wyschofsky, minister for the chemical industry, and Yuriy Bespalov, Nikolay Lemayev, and Nikolay Olshanskiy, USSR ministers for the chemical industry, for the oil-processing and petrochemical industry, and for mineral fertilizer production, respectively. Priority was given to such subjects as the improvement and modernization of comparable chemical plants in the GDR and the USSR, as well as the development of new plastics and agrochemicals.

Gerald Tautenhahn, GDR minister for construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles, and Mikhail Shkabardnya, USSR minister for instrument-making, automation equipment, and control systems, discussed current and prospective cooperation in medical technology. On the basis of existing agreements, favorable results have been achieved in the development and production of new products, in the areas of microanalysis, endoscopy, and anaesthesia and artificial respiration equipment, for example.

Minister Tautenhahn and Nikolay Pugin, USSR minister of motor vehicle and agricultural machine building, discussed cooperation in the motor vehicle industry and in agricultural machinebuilding. They examined the results of the implementation of a government agreement on cooperation in the production and reciprocal delivery of special roller bearings, which are used in large quantities in all areas of the national economy. The cooperation existing since 1977, which has brought gains for both sides, also should be continued in the next 5-year plan period.

Dr Jochen Kratzke, GDR state secretary in the Ministry for Coal and Energy; Nikolay Lukonin, USSR minister of the nuclear power industry; and Vladimir Maryin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Bureau for the Fuel and Energy complex; discussed continuing the proven cooperation between the two countries in the energy economy. In particular, they discussed cooperation in the construction and safe operation of nuclear power stations.

Eduard Schwierz, GDR deputy minister for foreign trade, and Reinhold Fiedler, state secretary in the GDR Ministry of Environmental protection and Water Management, also conducted negotiations with their Soviet counterparts today.

West Europe

KGB Lists UK Journalists' 'Unlawful Activity'

LD2505135189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1304 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 May (TASS)—The USSR Committee for State Security has at its disposal data on the unlawful activity of the three English journalists who are being expelled from the USSR, Vladimir Strunin, head of the press bureau of the USSR KGB, said at a briefing here today. He remarked that the data at the competent organs' disposal show that the journalists are connected with Britain's intelligence services.

Ian Glover-James, correspondent of the ITN television network, who has been in the USSR since May 1987, has more than once shown heightened interest, unjustifiable for a journalist, in installations of a defense nature. Facts testifying to his numerous violations of the rules regulating travel within the USSR have been established.

Angus Roxburg, 'SUNDAY TIMES' correspondent, who has been in the USSR since 1986, has violated travel regulations for foreigners. In particular, in July 1988 he left for the town of Yalta without notification and the OVIR of the Yalta Town Executive Committee had to give an official warning to Roxburgh and suggested that he return to Moscow. Soon Roxburgh was detained while attempting to enter a closed region in Moscow Oblast.

According to authentic information, the representative of the USSR KGB went on, Angus Roxburgh attempted to involve a Soviet citizen as a source of information on classified institutions [rezhimnyye obyekty]. For this purpose, the foreigner gave him a technical device for bugging and recording telephone conversations, and also promised to give remuneration in money for the information in which he was interested.

The BBC correspondent, Jeremy Harris, tried on more than one occasion to penetrate regions closed to foreigners. There is information that he used technical means to gather information from these regions.

Vladimir Strunin stressed that the USSR KGB has other material on the unlawful activity of the named British journalists, however "for understandable reasons we are not revealing them for the time being." The representative of the USSR KGB then went on to demonstrate the technical device which Roxburgh handed over to the Soviet citizen. The device has no manufacturer's mark. "In our evaluation, the device has been disguised as a domestic appliance, and can be used for recording telephone conversations, and, most importantly, for intercepting low-frequency magnetic dispersal fields from various sources, including telephone lines and cables and computers," said Vladimir Strunin.

TASS Director Regrets UK Expulsion of Soviets

LD2505131889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1238 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 May (TASS)—Leonid Kravchenko, general director of TASS, has sent G.Howe, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, a letter in which he expresses regret in connection with the decision by the British Government to expel from the country a group of employees of Soviet institutions in Britain for allegedly engaging in activity incompatible with their official status. The letter states that the fact that a TASS correspondent, a professional journalist, who has been carrying out his duties as a reporter in a qualified manner, is among their number, cannot fail to cause surprise. Nothing in his activity contradicted either British or international law, nor likewise could cause any damage at all to the security interests of Great Britain.

The Brisish Government's step clearly does not correspond to the spirit of the recently improved Soviet-British relations, and can in no way promote their further positive development, the letter goes on to note. It is also regrettable that this step was taken following the international information forum, held in London, which was convened by the decision of the Vienna conference. Special stress was laid at the forum on improving the working conditions of journalists, and the need to lift the unjustified restrictions which hinder the fulfillment by them of their duties as journalists. This position was supported, among others, by the British delegation.

Cypriot President Interviewed on Preliminary Plan

NC2305191689 Moscow in Greek to Cyprus 1700 GMT 23 May 89

[Interview with Cypriot President Yeoryios Vasiliou by Soviet radio and television correspondent (Vyacheslav Alekseyv); date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr President, please tell us briefly about the intercommunal talks.

[Vasiliou] As you know, the talks began about 10 months ago and are now entering their third stage. In this stage an effort should be made to prepare some preliminary plan for the basic principles of the agreement. Naturally the preparation of a preliminary plan is not an easy thing, and presupposes some kind of an agreement. I could not say that we have reached an agreement at this moment. There is a significant difference between our positions, because, while we have prepared proposals on the basis of the idea for one state that will be federal but unitary and want Cyprus to be truly demilitarized and neutral, the substance of the Turkish Cypriot proposals is that there should be two states which will have some form of cooperation. But then the two states will be over-militarized, not with two armies but four.

Despite this, we are going to the talks with all good will and with the strong desire to promote a solution. We believe that this is to the interest of all: Greeks, Turks, Turkey, Greece, the Mediterranean, all the world.

[Correspondent] Please speak about contacts between the two communities.

[Vasiliou] It is pleasant, because already some contacts have begun. We would have many more, but there are difficulties from the other side. However, a very significant development is the fact that even the day before yesterday, most parties, both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot, accepted the invitation of the Czechoslovak Front [as heard] for the leaders of the parties to go to Czechoslovakia and [words indistinct] and at the same

time study how the Czecholsovak federation functions. This is a very significant and positive development, because for the first time it will enable [words indistinct] to have comfortable talks between them and understand how the other thinks. We want to encourage all kinds [words indistinct], both abroad and domestically, and we shall do everything we can help in this direction.

V. Zhurkin Assesses Italian Socialist Congress

PM2305152089 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 20 May 89 p 4 (special congress supplement)

[Interview with Vitaliy Zhurkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute, head of the CPSU delegation to the Italian Socialist Party congress, by Libero Lizzadri; date, place not given]

[Text] "It really was a good idea to hold a Socialist Party congress in a former factory—a politically brilliant initiative. I would like to congratulate whoever thought of the idea." This was said by Professor Vitaliy Zhurkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute, who is attending the Italian Socialist Party [PSI] congress together with CPSU Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department Mediterranean Section chief G. Smirnov. "This congress is full of dynamism, enthusiasm, and feeling," Zhurkin added.

Our conversation naturally centered on Bettino Craxi's report, especially on the part devoted to foreign policy. "It contains some very interesting things," Zhurkin said, "With regard to what the PSI secretary said about the problems of, and ways of achieving, disarmament in Europe, I personally found there were many concepts in tune with the ideas that we too have expressed, with the ideas that are increasingly frequently emerging on our continent, both in the West and in the East. Among other things, there is agreement with the assessment that there are positive changes with regard to Europe's role and with the assessment that a more favorable situation is coming about in the world for a start on a positive solution to the problems of disarmament.

"I particularly appreciated the part of Craxi's report in which, speaking of the need to tackle the problem of strategic arms reduction at the same time as reducing tactical weapons, he expressed the ideas—a useful one, I believe—of taking land, sea, and air forces all into consideration.

"Of course these were general remarks —and after all, a congress can only adopt a general approach—but the important thing is that a conception global in its approach was clearly expressed. He stated equally clearly that the aim must be to reduce weapons in Europe to the lowest possible level. All this was said in a few words, but extremely clearly, in a complete and exhaustive manner, very succinctly.

"Mr Craxi also said some interesting things about the situation in the Mediterranean," Professor Zhurkin added. "Basically, his idea is that few steps forward have been taken on the road to remedying the situation in this important region. Though in many things and in many situations, from Europe to U.S.-USSR relations, significant steps forward definitely have been made toward detente, disarmament, and understanding, Craxi did express some disappointment with regard to the Mediterranean. Certainly for all the seaboard countries new initiatives are inevitable and new proposals are necessary and desirable. During the Vienna meetings the Mediterranean was discussed and proposals were put forward, and this is important. But for the time being these are only what we could call organizational proposals that need to be filled with real substance. Overall, I believe Craxi's report deserves a positive assessment with regard to the Mediterranean issue too.

"As for the situation in the Middle East," Professor Zhurkin continued, "you can only agree with what the PSI secretary had to say about the tragedy in Lebanon, where in our opinion there must be the strictest observance of the cease-fire and a strong commitment to end the bloodbath both from internal Lebanese groups and from abroad.

"Craxi's references to the new events regarding the Palestinians and the PLO in recent months were also very apposite. Here too specific deeds are needed, especially following the mass rising in the Arab territories occupied by the Israelis. The entire international community must exert its influence to ensure that Israel makes some constructive proposals. It seems to me that the most reasonable path is that of an international conference. How to organize it—with whom, when, where, and so forth—can and must be discussed. Be that as it may, the Palestinians must be guaranteed the right to self-determination through the establishment of a Palestinian state in whatever form thay may want. Obviously any agreement reached must at the same time ensure Israel's full existence.

"It might be possible to consider some form of international aid," Zhurkin continued, "for instance with regard to border security, or perhaps economic aid. In short, this long, dangerous, and terrible crisis must be solved in a positive way. Positive steps to eliminate regional crises have been made recently in many regions, from Afghanistan to Cambodia, in South Africa, and in other parts of the world. It is only in the Middle East that the situation is stagnating. Craxi's statements on these subjects are consistent with a constructive approach to solving the Middle East problem. Of course, they were general statements and once specific discussions are started there may be disagreements, conflicts, and so forth. This is all natural, but we are bearing in mind the fact that, for many years, we have all had a series of experiences and we all realize that in seeking joint solutions it is possible to find compromises, provided there is a strong and clear political will.

"With regard to the part of Craxi's speech which relates to European unity in the economic sphere and with regard to the political aspects of the election for the Strasbourg parliament, I think it was a constructive and positive approach. We regard the Twelve's integration process as positive. This does not mean that this process does not present us with problems, in the economic sphere among others. But, when we assess the pros and cons," Zhurkin said, "the result is on the positive side. Moreover, we are already trying to develop relations with Twelve in the economic and political spheres and with the Strasbourg parliament. We are obviously closely following the election campaign for the European Parliament, and the positions expressed by the various parties in various countries. Of course, we agree with many of the statements contained in the European Socialists' manifesto.

"Indeed, both in Eastern and Western Europe, the problem of overcoming the European division, with its economic, political, and military implications, is now increasingly important. Of course, it is a difficult process because over so many decades a great deal of misunderstanding, distrust, and suspicion has arisen. The aim is to work consistently to overcome this situation. We too look to Europe in the future not as a divided, split continent but as a "common home," in which the different countries can extend the disarmament process and promote profitable cooperation. There are many possible ways of achieving this objective, but, in the final analysis, they are countries which, despite their different political, economic, and social contexts, can complement each other and are largely complementary. If the socialists' ideas aim to overcome this European division, as I think they do, we have a duty to examine and study them very closely.

"Overcoming the European division," Zhurkin concluded, "can and should be the result of the combined efforts of West and East, their spirit of cooperation, and their creative abilities."

USSR Branch Bank To Open in Milan

AU2505133289 Rome ANSA in English 1231 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] (ANSA) Milan, May 25—The increasing development of commercial activity between Italy and the USSR may soon lead to the opening of a Soviet branch bank in Milan, according to Oleg Preskin, vice-president and director general of the Vienna-based Donau Bank.

Preskin, speaking at a conference here on "perestroyka and business in the USSR," said the opening of a Soviet bank in Milan would depend on the development of bilateral relations, and that his Donau Bank was working on the development of joint-venture activities. The Donau Bank is 60 percent owned by the Soviet State Bank and the Soviet Bank for Foreign Business.

During the conference it was pointed out that 418 joint ventures had been set up in the Soviet Union during the last two years, with a total capital of about 310 million dollars. About 40 percent of the new ventures were controlled by foreign agencies. Total investment in joint ventures was estimated at about 620 million dollars.

Italy's 32 joint ventures with the Soviet Union ranks it in fourth place behind West Germany, Finland and the United States. About 500 new Italo-Soviet ventures, worth some 7 million dollars, are also under study.

Viktor Melnikov, head of the Soviet Government Commission for Foreign Commerce, said there were some 2,400 Soviet agencies qualified to establish relations with foreign business interests.

Spain's Serra Holds Final Talks With Yazov

PM2505155989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Conversation With Spanish Defense Minister"]

[Excerpts] On 23 May Spanish Defense Minister N. Serra, who is in our country on an official visit, returned to Moscow from Leningrad. [passage omitted]

Final talks were held the same day between Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, and Spanish Defense Minister N. Serra.

The following took part in the talks: on the Soviet side, Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister; Fleet Admiral V.N. Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister; and other officials; on the Spanish side, J. Cuenca, Spanish ambassador to the Soviet Union, and also the persons accompanying the Spanish defense minister.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Diplomats Expelled From Nicaragua

LD2505221689 Moscow TASS in English 2057 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Managua May 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov:

Nicaragua's government has decided to expel from the country two employees of the U.S. Embassy in Managua for the activities incompatible with their diplomatic status. Representatives of the American Embassy Kathleen Williamson Barnow and Joel Franklin Cassman were seen distributing money, allocated by Washington for anti-government activities, amid right-wing political and trade union organisations and tried to provoke a strike in Chinandega.

The actions of representatives of the U.S. Department of State signify open U.S. interference in the republican internal affairs and continued ideological offensive within the framework of the so-called Melton Plan. In July last year, following the disclosure of activities of some American diplomats, the Nicaraguan Government announced former U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton and six U.S. Embassy employees persona non-grata.

Chilean Communist Congress Unveils Resolutions

PY2405000189 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] The resolutions of the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of Chile [PCCh] have been unveiled in Santiago. An exceptional event in Chilean political life has culminated: The 15th Congress of the Communists, which represents an important landmark in the PCCh's life. The congress can be looked at as schooling for the party due to an intense process of polemic debate and preparation. These activities began at the level of cell assemblies and culminated in the national congress.

The 15th PCCh Congress' proceedings, which have been referred to on various occasions, were very creative. The fact that the congress was held at all constitutes a victory over the dictatorship, an act of rebellion conducted under difficult conditions of secrecy. The people's voice and aspirations were expressed in this congress through their various representatives: workers, peasants, shantytown dwellers, students, women, ethnic minorities, middle class, artists, intellectuals, professionals, and technicians. Since the call for this congress was made the discussion process has been quite productive.

The 15th congress that we are closing today was characterized by a high political level, which reflects the party's creative spirit. The congress has been a link between the historical values of the Chilean Communists and the renewal process they are undergoing, marking a leap forward in their life and politics. Quite appropriately, this congress was called a historic event on several occasions, and it will be increasingly called that when its spirit and guidelines are brought into actual life. The congress has approved the report submitted by the outgoing Central Committee as fundamental conclusions that constitute a party document for developing the policy of the rebellion of the masses. The text of this report sums up a process of discussion and drafting that lasted several months of work. Cell assemblies, local and regional congresses, in which Chilean Communists residing abroad also participated, all contributed to the work.

The congress has evaluated the report, the critical and self-critical spirit that was expressed in its sessions, the frank and cold analysis of the party's life since the 14th congress, and particularly the party's successes and mistakes, and the directorate's methods and style of work. All this leads to the conclusion that it is necessary to upgrade the role of all the party's bodies, developing an internal democracy of which the congress has been an example. The critical and self-critical analysis must be transformed into a permanent mechanism, and so the congress approved a resolution asking the new Central Committee to continue probing into the flaws, distortions, and mistakes incurred during the period preceeding this congress so as to draw new lessons that will be useful for the future, and do so by gleaning the opinions of all the party's militants who can contribute to this analysis.

As the outgoing Central Committee's report says, those who want to have a future should delve into their past. So the resolution was also approved to go on with the study of the party's history in order to learn of its merits and limitations more carefully. The debates of the 15th PCCh Congress have ended, with a full expression of the party's democracy. Each militant was able to make his contribution, and now all of us together must endeavor to carry forward the conclusions of the analysis made during the congress, which has enriched the party in different aspects. Also, those militants who have epxressed views differing from the conclusions should participate in that endeavor.

The congress' debates were unanimous in ratifying the report's suggestion that the time elapsed between national congresses should not be too long. Nothing justifies a long delay. Experience has shown that acting decisively, all obstacles can be overcome. The difficulties posed by clandestinity can be overcome, and the party congresses must be held periodically, as established in the party's statutes. The 15th congress has given a decided stimulus to the renewal process the party is undergoing, a stimulus stemming from our own experience that has been enriched by the profoundly enlivening process going on in the Soviet Union with perestroyka and glasnost.

This renewal process will have to pervade the communist movement as the need to give answers to the great challenges of our times increases. In the first place, to carry forward our revolutionary policy, the renewal should imply a change in methods and styles, reflecting a constant success in the conflict between the old and the new. The party must, therefore, be considered as the fundamental subjective element for developing its relations with the masses at a higher level. To implement the conclusions of the congress, the party must daringly project itself outwards, must be decidedly legalized by its actions, thus breaking the fascist institutional order.

The conclusions of the congress must be conveyed to the people nationwide. The people, the democratic revolutionary forces, expect a great deal from the conclusions of the Communists' congress, particularly from the Communists' greater contribution to the cause of democracy and freedom. This poses the challenge of carrying the conslusions into practice. Of course, there are several issues which we must continue to elaborate further. Our discussions have shown that we have to look further into

the forms the solution to the dictatorship-democracy contradiction might adopt. We have to anticipate the opportunities for braking the fascist system that can present themselves, how to stimulate the current process of realignment of forces through the changes under way and the crisis situations that will undoubtedly occur again. We have to be prepared for this, anticipating the various alternative outcomes to the complex and favorable current political situation.

The 15th PCCh Congress has confirmed the validity of our policy of popular rebellion of the masses, the scope of which has been extended. This marked the conclusion of a process that began at the level of (?neighbors') meetings and that was continued at the level of local and regional congresses.

Our policy was born under fascism, based on the use of the legitimate right of the people to rebel against the tyranny, and of the different forms of struggle that are necessary for moving forward.

The party and vast sectors of the population have supported the process of rebellion, which was developing in Chile. This position, which was initially adopted by our party, later developed into our overall political position.

The process of creation of this policy has made it possible for us to overcome the weaknesses that our party and the revolutionary forces had during the popular government in connection with the problem of power. It has also allowed us to take into account our own experiences and the experience of other nations for our revolutionary work.

The 15th congress has confirmed the policy of popular rebellion of the masses, which is the course of action that the party has chosen to lead the people to power. Immediate tasks are the resolution of the dictatorship-democracy contradiction, the termination of fascism, and the elimination of all structural causes of fascism.

Our policy seeks to reach a balance of power for the attainment of these objectives through an intense and sustained struggle of the masses, through the promotion of broad democratic unity without exclusions, and through the combination of the different forms of struggle to move forward in keeping with each specific circumstance.

The policy of popular rebellion of the masses has been regarded as a major impulse toward renewal and toward the strengthening of the party from a political, ideological, and organic viewpoint.

The 15th congress has allowed each militant to become more directly involved in the design of the party policy, with the objective of permanently updating and enriching its principles.

The congressional delegates reiterated that the policy of the popular rebellion of the masses has given a decisive impulse to the anti-fascist struggle. Under this policy, the people have intensified the crisis of the dictatorship since 1982, with the memorable protests and struggle between 1983 and 1986, and determinedly struggled to defeat the plebiscite of October 1988.

The people's rebellion has been the main factor that has permitted the creation of favorable conditions for doing away with Pinochet and for paving the way for a democratic transition.

The political ideas of Communists have been enriched by the new elements which were provided by the design and implementation of the policy of popular rebellion of the masses. These new elements refer to the role of the party as the main promoter of the struggle waged by the people and as a choice through which the people, led by the democratic and revolutionary forces, may assume power.

The 15th PCCh Congress has expressed its resolution which may democratize the country and its institutions, and which may meet the demands posed by the people.

Under the current circumstances, there is a pressing task of accelerating the process of accumualtion of power behind that patriotic objective.

The upcoming December elections will be more decisive than the plebiscite as far as the permanence of Pinochet and the fate of the dictatorship is concerned. That is why the people, the left, and the party are ready to determinedly participate in them. We should transform the electoral contest into a resolute confrontation between the entire people and the tyranny.

The degree of participation of the masses and the deployment of multiple forms of struggle will be decisive in achieving victory, in having it respected, and in causing the necessary breakup of the fascist institutions.

It is essential to pose all types of social and democratic demands, as has already been done by the central labor union, city residents, students, other sectors, and the human rights organizations that demand truth, justice, and the immediate release of all political prisoners.

These demands should be based on a common platform, the essential contents of which should be the resignation of Pinochet of all his posts, the end of all types of military tutelage, and the implementation of a new institutional system. The new system, which should be truly democratic, should permit the full exercise of the people's sovereignty, should respect human rights, and should meet the most eagerly wanted socioeconomic and cultural demands which have gone unheeded over the past 15 years.

Backed by a strong mobilization of the masses, some of those demands may be granted immediately after the victory of 14 December, thus dealing an effective blow to the regime's institutional system.

It is also necessary to develop the people's strength and unity at grassroots level. For this, the foremost objective is to establish a truly democratic power at the municipal level to counterbalance that of the regime. To accomplish this it is necessary to stimulate the initiative of the masses with a view to grouping, integrating, and coordinating regional organizations of all social sectors.

The organization of the masses' self-defense should be regarded as the means to cope with Pinochet's repression and provocations.

The congress paid a great deal of attention to key aspects of the role that the party plays among the masses and to the means and ways to further enhance this role. It studied the changes that have taken place within Chilean society, especially those experienced by the working class and the wage-earners in general. The congress noted the growth of this sector of the society, the excessive exploitation to which it is subjected and the many internal differences it has.

We plan to increase the contribution of the Communist Party to the task of organizing, uniting, and awakening the awareness of the workers by strengthening the labor union movement. The objective is to reaffirm its independence and endow it with the means to better defend its short- and long-term class interests. Greater efforts must be made to further grassroots-level recruiting, develop intermediate- level organizations of the United Workers Central [CUT], and promote broad democratic training.

The need for a turnabout of the role of the rural workers and for organizing the peasants was reiterated and the congress emphasized the burning issue of ethnic minorities. It stressed that they are being doubly exploited because of their nationality and class and pointed out that they share interests with vast sectors of Chileans.

The congress received a proposal containing a list of objectives and acknowledged the need to devise a specific policy capable of championing the most deeply felt aspirations of the ethnic minorities, especially their desire for some sort of autonomy. This policy must be devised mostly on the basis of input from the Mapuche people and other ethnic minorities and the active participation of the PCCh and the other democratic parties, regional committees operating in areas where ethnic minorities reside, experts and all parties interested in this subject.

The PCCh congress extolled the democratization that neighborhood committees have undergone and pointed out that this democratization must soon reach municipal councils as well.

The congress paid special attention to the new viewpoints outlined in the report on the situation of the Chilean woman. These new viewpoints provide the necessary encouragement for seeking a deeper understanding of the problem. A proposal was made to turn the main suggestions of the report into policies and practical actions.

Concern was voiced at the congress about expanding PCCh participation in art, sciences and culture and the need for progressive intellectuals, professional people and technicians to contribute to the country's progress and to the democratic struggle.

In the political sphere it is necessary to work harder to enhance the role of the Broad Party of the Socialist Left [PAIS], turning it into a powerful political force of the masses with thousands of rank and file committees that would unite the most consistently democratic parties and be the champion of the aspirations that Salvador Allende instilled in our people.

The strengthening of the United Left and of the unity between communists and socialists are basic components of our policy of alliances. We must keep up and increase efforts aimed at bringing about the unity of action of all opponents. To attain this we must first of all defeat the anti-communist feelings stimulated by imperialism and the dictatorship. Sectors of the opposition resort to this feeling to justify excluding the communist from their alliances. It is a priority for the PCCh to conduct an ideological and political struggle to defeat this feeling.

It is necessary to report the cases of fraud and manipulation that are bound to occur during the coming elections even more than they did at the plebiscite. Article 8 of the constitution is still in effect, denying millions of workers the right to run for office and the decision of the tyranny to use power and money to distort the people's will. This has been clearly demonstrated by denying the opposition access to television, the changes in the structure of the electoral districts and other political laws.

With the Pinochet dictatorship, the elections will not be democratic. Consequently, it is essential to combine the electoral campaign and the people's mobilization in support of their demands. At the same time, it is necessary to sponsor a single electoral front against Pinochet and against the perpetuation of the system. This means that a consensus must be reached on a single opposition presidential candidate and on a single democratic program reflecting the aspirations of the people. In addition, the democratic forces should agree on the election of congress, which should represent all sectors without exclusions and reflect the people's support for the left.

During the 19 years that elapsed since the 14th PCCh Congress, we confronted the harshest difficulties and tests in our history. Despite the rigour of the fascist dictatorship and the efforts aimed at our physical and

ideological destruction, we concluded our 15th congress with a vast historical collective experience, with a national democratic policy, and with political, ideological, and organizational unity.

These major accomplishments have been made possible by the heroic efforts of militants and party cadres who maintained the presence of the party in Chile in the time immediately following the 1973 coup. These accomplishments were also made possible by the party leadership, which implemented and promoted the policy of rebellion of the masses.

The reconstruction of the party at a national level has been intimately linked with the process of development and enforcement of the policy of rebellion of the masses.

Criteria, specific policies, and new organizational and operational structures had to be created to allow the party to lead the people in all forms of their struggle, and under the most difficult conditions of the class struggle.

The 15th congress decided to call for a national PCCh conference in the near future, in order to analyze several issues, which are connected with the development of the party and which were analyzed on different occasions.

The Central Committee was entrusted with the mission of establishing the date and the organization of the conference. It was also instructed to propose to the conference a new text of the party statutes, without precluding the modifications approved by the 15th congress. The new text will seek to improve and modernize the statutes.

The tasks that we have set for ourselves call for a great Communist Party, great in quantity and quality. To this end, the Leninist concept of revolutionary organization, principles, and rules should be fully restored at all levels.

The 15th congress confirmed that the long years of repression and the existence of wrong, deeply rooted, narrow-minded and partial criteria on the Leninist concept of the party call for a special and permanent effort to change those criteria.

The principle of collective leadership should be effectively restored at all levels.

The Central Committee is and should be the highest organization between one congress and another. Therefore, its members have a great responsibility as individuals and as a committee as a whole. Collective discussions and the full exercise of the right to criticism and self-criticisim within the PCCh requires a higher level of knowledge and political information and that more attention be paid to the opinion of the party's grassroots by guaranteeing the permanent acknowledgement of these opinions by the higher echelons.

The 15th congress believes that the different points of view within the PCCh's organizations should be frankly and openly discussed, through polemics and creative debates that seek agreements. We will thereby prevent harming the development of the PCCh and its policies. The 15th congress believes that the renewal process is necessary for the party's survival and that it is mainly tied to the challenge that the request to exercise the policy of mass rebellion represents. This renewal process is a mandate, a task to be carried out. The purpose of our renewal is to help us fulfill our historic goals: the revolution and the implementation of socialism.

The 15th congress has expressed the need to strengthen the PCCh and the workers movement's ideology as well as the need to expand and make its education system more effective. This requires that we carry out the ideological struggle, the development of our Marxist-Leninist theory, that we move forward with more knowledge about our true situation, by theorizing even more so our rich historical practice.

The PCCh's various fronts must analyze the possibility of holding meetings and seminars—such as the one held recently by the agrarian front—to discuss the implementation of the 15th congress' resolution within their respective fields and make greater progress in the drawing up of policies for the various sectors.

The 15th congress has learned about the upcoming 8th congress of the Chilean Communist Youth and agreed to grant it full support. This congress of the Communist Youth will undoubtedly represent a great contribution to their development and to that of the Chilean youth movement.

The Communist Youth represent a strong bastion for the implementation of the policy of the masses rebellion. The 8th Congress of the Chilean Communist Youth has approved the proposal to authorize the PCCh Central Committee to draft a new party program. This is necessary for a revolution organization. Attention must be focused on the country's true situation, in all aspects and especially with regard to the great changes taking place worldwide. The draft to be drawn up by the Central Committee will be submitted for consideration to the entire party and people.

Numerous and valuable concrete proposals drawn up by the party grassroots were submitted during the 15th congress sessions by the regional committees and delegates. It is not possible to discuss each and everyone of them in detail now. The new Central Committee has the duty to carefully assess them and implement them if approved.

The 15th congress has decided to establish a commission to study international affairs. It noted the need for the PCCh to make a greater effort to increase our knowledge on new international developments.

The Chilean people must step up their contribution to solve world problems: for peace and disarmament; to preserve the balance of the ecology and natural resources; for just international relations; and, especially to overcome backwardness, misery, and hunger in vast areas of the world.

Assessment during the 15th congress was focused on the lessons learned, taking into account our reality, from the complex and fruitful phenomenon of change and renewal that the socialist world is currently experiencing.

In the 15th PCCh Congress, the Chilean Communists expressed their solidarity with all the peoples who are struggling for their liberation, especially emphasizing the fact that the solidarity with the Cuban, Nicaraguan, and Salvadoran peoples must be further strengthened.

The 15th congress also reiterated its appreciation of the active solidarity received by our people, a solidarity that continues to be as necessary as ever.

The 15th congress paid a moving homage to all the victims of the past, especially our unforgettable comrades who fell while discharging their revolutionary tasks.

The 15th congress is dedicated to the Chilean people. The Communists, however, will be mainly responsible for its implementation. The Communists' duty—at this time of extremely important decisions—is to implement the resolutions taken so that these resolutions become the driving force for struggle and victory, with the masses doing their utmost in the quest for democracy and for a freer, more just, and more plentiful life.

Go all out for democracy!

This was the text of the resolutions of the 15th PCCh National Congress.

'Last Part' of Resolutions Broadcast

PY2405211689 Moscow Radio Magallanes in Spanish to Chile 0100 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] In yesterday's [23 May] broadcast of Radio Magallanes, we disclosed the text of the resolutions of the 15th National Congress of the Communist Party of Chile [PCCh].

For reasons of time, we did not manage to broadcast the full text. Therefore, we are now reading the last part of the resolutions of the 15th PCCh National Congress.

Political & Social

Supreme Court Plenum Held, Laws Clarified

PM2605104789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Supreme Court"]

[Text] A routine USSR Supreme Court Plenum took place under the chairmanship of S.I. Gusev, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Court.

The plenum examined a submission by the USSR General Prosecutor's statement on giving the courts guidelines to clarify questions which have emerged in connection with the application of Article 11 (1) of the USSR Law "On Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes" (in the wording of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree dated 8 April 1989).

In certain republics a number of cases under Article 11 (1) of the law have already been instituted. Moreover, divergences in the interpretation of punishable discreditation were identified. The absence of the necessary unity in interpreting this norm and incorrect explanation of the law's content may lead to errors in the work of prosecutor's office investigation organs and of the courts during the initial stage of its enforcement.

In accordance with Article 3 of the USSR Law "On the USSR Supreme Court," the USSR Supreme Court's guiding explanations are mandatory not only for the courts but also for all other organs and officials applying the law on which a clarification has been given.

It was noted in the report by R.G. Tikhomirnov, chairman of the judicial collegium on criminal cases, and in speeches by the plenum participants and persons invited to its session that local inquiries and a number of items in the press testify that exceptional significance is attached to the correct understanding of the legal term "discreditation."

It was stressed that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree dated 8 April 1989 is directed at strengthening the role of legal guarantees in the mechanism of protecting Soviet people's rights and freedoms. The interpretation of the decree as a kind of "substitute" for previous articles of the law, which envisaged criminal responsibility for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, is incorrect.

The plenum participants noted that clarification of the "discreditation" concept will once again draw the courts' attention to the necessity for strict observance of the law's requirements, because experience in previous years shows that broad interpretation of the law inevitably led to deviation from socialist legality and to breaches of it. On the one hand, the issue of protecting state organs, officials, and public organizations from public insults and slander, and on the other, the protection of citizens' constitutional rights to freedom of speech, of the press, and also of the right to criticize existing shortcomings, must be resolved precisely within the law's framework.

Well-founded and proven criticism of the actions and decisions of organs and officials mentioned in the law on the part of citizens acting publicly and within the framework of socialist legality cannot be regarded as criminally punishable discreditation.

This interpretation and application of the new legal norms fully accords with the international pacts and conventions on human rights ratified by the USSR. **The plenum explained to the courts that by discreditation as envisaged by Article 11 (1) of the USSR Law "On Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes" they should understand the deliberate public dissemination of slanderous fabrications, that is deliberately false information aimed at undermining trust in the supreme organs of power and administration of the USSR and other organs, public organizations, and officials enumerated in this article of the law.**

Moreover, the plenum particularly stressed that a report in the press and any other form of information reflecting shortcomings in the activity of the organs, public organizations, and officials indicated, and criticism of them in this connection do not constitute a crime.

The plenum examined protests made by the USSR Supreme Court chairman and the USSR General Prosecutor on legal proceedings. They include more than 50 cases of persons who were subjected to unwarranted repressions in the 1930's and 1940's and at the beginning of the 1950's. Almost all of these persons were found guilty of committing particularly dangerous state crimes and were sentenced to the maximum terms of deprivation of freedom, and some were shot.

The most common was the charge of conducting anti-Soviet agitation, whereas statements by those convicted concerning the material living conditions of Soviet people, the situation on collective farms, and criticism of party and government leadership in connection with what proved to be the Soviet Union's unpreparedness for war against Hitler's Germany and other opinions reflected the true state of affairs and did not contain any calls to overthrow, undermine, or weaken the Soviet system.

On examining cases of the most serious crimes—espionage, terrorist activity, and subversive activity—the plenum determined that such charges were falsified or were based on such evidence which could not be regarded as sufficient. In this connection all those convicted in these cases have also been rehabilitated.

For example, Tsander, a former official of the Comintern Executive Committee liaison service, was found guilty of participating in an anti-Soviet espionage-terrorist Trotskyite organization which existed in the Comintern system and of being an agent of German intelligence and passing espionage information on to it over a number of years.

The charge against Tsander, who categorically denied his guilt, was based only on excerpts from protocols of those Comintern Executive Committee workers arrested on other cases—Abramov-Mirov, Platten-Tsimmerman, and Melnikov—who, as has been established in the course of investigating circumstances which have newly come to light, incriminated both themselves and Tsander as a result of the use of illegal methods when they were being investigated.

There is no information on Tsander's cooperation with fascist Germany's intelligence organs in authoritative Soviet archives and organs. Nor is there information on the existence of an anti-Soviet organization in the Comintern. On the contrary, in documents which were captured from the Reich Central Security Office Tsander appears as a person who was a danger to the state.

The plenum dismissed Tsander's case for lack of corpora delicti in his actions.

V.P. Suvorin was convicted on the trumped-up charge of belonging to the "counterrevolutionary Trotskyite-Zinovevite group which prepared and carried out S.M. Kirov's murder and prepared a number of other terrorist acts against the leaders of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Soviet Government," in a case which lacked any evidence of his participation in S.M. Kirov's murder, except conflicting and unspecific evidence from Suvorin himself, which he subsequently denied repeatedly. From this testimony it is impossible to draw conclusions about the substance of the organization which he had allegedly joined, its structure, the specific tasks faced by these participants, and the organization's program and methods of struggle.

Suvorin's case was also dismissed, and he has been completely rehabilitated.

The plenum rectified errors by the courts at a later time in the juridical assessment of the actions and statements of certain persons. The prominent Latvian poet K.E. Skuyeniyeks, who was convicted in 1962 on a charge of anti-Soviet agitation and failure to report the existence of an underground anti-Soviet organization whose aim was the forcible separation of the Baltic republics from the USSR, was rehabilitated.

The court deemed anti-Soviet several poems written by Skuyeniyeks, and also actions by him which were expressed in anti-Soviet jokes and in giving his friends the opportunity to read anti-Soviet books which he had obtained in 1959 from workers at a U.S. fair.

Meanwhile, an analysis of the poem "Bloody Apple Tree," which was interpreted by readers as an expression of indignation at the unwarranted repressions and not as anti-Soviet propaganda, as well as an analysis of other works by Skuyeniyeks, shows that they contained no calls to overthrow, undermine, or weaken Soviet power, that is they lacked the mandatory feature constituting anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda which is provided for by law.

Nor was anti-Soviet intent established in Skuyeniyeks' actions, which were expressed in giving his friends the opportunity to get acquainted with a British encyclopedia and other foreign publications in English. Moreover, it is not clear from the sentence why these books were deemed anti-Soviet by the court.

Nor were jokes told by Skuyeniyeks about the campaign to sow corn everywhere and on other subjects deemed anti-Soviet.

As for the charge of failing to report the existence of an underground anti-Soviet organization, as established by the case, Skuyeniyeks did not have at his disposal any information on a specific plan to split the Baltic republic from the USSR, thought this plan was a fantasy, and gave a negative reply to the suggestion that he take part in its implementation.

Skuyeniyeks was also charged with expressing views deemed by the courts to be nationalist. The plenum found that this sentence could not be judged legal since the expression of these views in themselves does not constitute a crime. The nature of Skuyeniyeks' conversations shows that they demonstrated dissatisfaction with the distortions of national policy which were permitted in that period.

The plenum deemed that Skuyeniyeks' actions lacked corpora delicti, and so dismissed the case.

Now that Skuyeniyeks has served his sentence he is leading an active life and helping by his creativity and public activity to strengthen peoples' friendship and familiarize the Latvian people with Russian culture. Skuyeniyeks' international activity was one of the bases for awarding him the honorary title of honored cultural figure of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On other matters the plenum rectified errors by the courts in determining the nature of a crime, in determining measures of punishment, and in decisions on the matter of the limits of financial liability for the crime committed. Here the plenum proceeded from the principle of legality, which is fundamental for the courts' activity, and also the protection of the individual's rights and legal interests. For example, concerning the case of doctor A.D. Levents, who was convicted for a crime not connected with carrying out his professional duties, the plenum deemed unwarranted the administration of an additional punishment in the form of depriving him of

the right to practice medicine, which virtually deprived him of the right to work on his special skill, and excluded this punishment from the sentence.

A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor; O.V. Soroka, his deputy; and V.T. Gubarev, USSR deputy justice minister; took part in the plenum's work.

Four People's Deputies Elected 23 May Listed

PM2505191989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed "List of USSR People's Deputies Elected in Runoffs From Territorial and National-Territorial Electoral Okrugs 23 May 1989"]

[Text] Aleksandr Fedorovich Yemelyanenkov, deputy chief editor of the weekly SOBESEDNIK, CPSU member, Arkhangelsk City. From the Primorskiy Territorial Okrug No 121, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR].

Andrey Andreyevich Zakharov, link leader at the No 15 construction administration of the "Sverdlovskiy Domostroitelnyy Kombinat" design and construction association named for the 60th Anniversary of the USSR, CPSU member, Sverdlovsk City. From the Kirovskiy Territorial Okrug No 293, RSFSR.

Leonid Sergeyevich Kudrin, contract port worker, Sverdlovsk city. From the Sverdlovskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 25, RSFSR.

Aleksandr Filippovich Nasonov, manager of the "Permgrazhdanstroy" design and construction association, CPSU member. From the Permskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 23, RSFSR.

'Sajudis' People's Deputy Criticizes Ryzhkov

LD2505121589 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 24 May 89

[Telephone interview with people's deputy Romualdas Ozolas, editor-in-chief of the Sajudis paper ATGIMIMAS, by radio correspondent Jurate Valanciute; date of interview not given; first three paragraphs are introduction—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Valanciute] Yesterday a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held during which the issue of meetings of the congress was discussed. A meeting of the people's deputies party group also took place yesterday.

Today, a precongress meeting of deputies is taking place. Twelve representatives from our republic are taking part in this meeting. Proposals concerning the congress agenda are being discussed. [passage omitted]

We asked Romualdas Ozolas to give us more detailed information about yesterday's meeting of the group of people's deputies who are members of the Communist Party.

[Ozolas] It was an interesting meeting in the sense that discussions started there. Many deputies appeared with rather serious questions. First of all these concerned specific individuals who should become part of the government. Even the status of Gorbachev, as the leader of the state, was raised, as well as alternative candidates for this post, or even more than one candidate who would be nominated to the post of leader.

The general opinion of the deputies is that Gorbachev has no real rival at present who could stand for election and compete. However, the majority of the deputies think that another alternative candidate is necessary in principle, as a precedent for democratic elections. This turned out to be incomprehensible to many deputies. Gorbachev himself reacted to all this quite normally. When he was praised, he was pleased, of course; and when he was reprimanded he was sitting quietly and listening.

However, more serious criticisms were directed at Ryzhkov. More than one deputy voiced the opinion that Ryzhkov should go back to work in the productive sector, as our Cekuolis put it at the meeting in Luzhniko. Ryzhkov ruined not only the implementation of the Law on Enterprise but many other programs as well. The slump in the economy is not occuring without his help either. If the decision cannot be reached here in the party group of deputies that Ryzhkov should not be nominated, then this issue should be postponed for later—this was the proposal made by Otsason deputy from Estonia—at the congress. And this should be done after the leader of the state has been elected.

Another issue for discussion concerned the procedure of the congress. How should the congress proceed? Should discussions take place after Gorbachev's speech on the general situation at home and abroad, or should the leadership be elected first and discussions follow?

The decision made at the party group was that the leadership should be elected first and discussions should follow later, whereas, deputies from Moscow, together with some other republics, proposed holding at least short discussions, then electing Gorbachev, and following this wider discussions should be held.

[Valanciute] Have the deputies arrived at a unanimous decision?

[Ozolas] No, they have not. The main battle about these issues will take place at 1000 today.

Brazauskas Views Election, 'Sajudis,' Plenum

LD2605140089 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS in Lithuanian No 13, 25 Mar 89 pp 2,3

[Interview with Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, by Leonidas Jacinevicius, editor of LITERATURA IR MENAS; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Jacinevicius] Esteemed First Secretary, current political life in Lithuania, although in existence for only a short time, has already encompassed a varied and contradictory history. The mood of great expectations it has given birth to is greatly affecting the ongoing republic campaign for elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Let us be candid: People of Lithuania have joined with you in their hopes for the republic's future. Lithuanian society and Sajudis have unofficially chosen you as leader of the republic. It is a unique event in the history of socialism for people to obtain the type of leader they desire. On the first day of the Lithuanian Sajudis Congress you received a tumultuous reception from delegates congratulating you on your recently-acquired position as leader of the republic party. You, in turn, stressed the need to work together for the benefit of sovereign Lithuania. I am convinced your resolution has not changed, but why is the number of people who mistrust the activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party not diminishing, especially on election eve?

[Brazauskas] I would first like to thank you for giving me the welcome opportunity to have this exchange with your readers, even though it is not a face-to-face meeting. I am sincerely grateful for your compliments, even if you do continue to remind me that I represent the party, which is not particularly popular.

Esteemed Editor, you are also a Communist. Thus, let us discuss this question, keeping in mind full responsibility for the party's destiny.

I think trust in the Communist Party is based on many factors, its authority being foremost among them. This is not an easily conquered peak. Comparatively recently this authority was viewed most often as unquestionable and few Communists were concerned about strengthening it. None of the party's members can allow themselves this "luxury" any longer. In truth, a Communist who does not care either about his own or his party organization's authority, does not amount to very much.

I wish to also take an opportunity to express my pleasure over the aggressiveness and activity of the Writers' Union Primary Party Organization and the fact that it occupies a clear position on vital social issues, while continuing its rich traditions of activity. This is what is bringing about the wide acknowledgement of this organization's activity. There are some party organizations whose authority, unfortunately, is quite lame.

Ours is the ruling party. It is therefore natural for people who are in the process of analyzing the progress of restructuring to examine the party first. It has set the process in motion. It is also responsible for its success. As for restructuring, as has been pointed out more than once it skids around considerably and raises unfavorable dispositions toward the party. This is understandable; it supports much of what has been closely tied with the party's name in the past, including many mistakes and even crimes.

There is one other factor that we must not ignore. Previously—during the time of Stalinism and stagnation—people who felt mistrust for the Communist Party used to simply remain quiet. Things are different now; they often openly express their dissatisfaction with party policy and its implementation. In addition, certain individuals are actively attempting to blame their own opposition to the party on others. You see for yourselves how many angry accusations against the party are now appearing in the republic press; this is particularly noticeable in what we refer to as the alternative press. Can this not harbor repercussions that are painful and disorienting to society?

It is against this type of background that we truly enjoy reading the words of our greatly esteemed Raimondas Kasauskas: "We must repeat to ourselves: We were, we are, we will be Communists. Even if Lithuania were to become totally independent: We would continue to be Communists of many lands." This is a truly brave and meaningful declaration.

Now let's discuss the election campaign. We regard it attentively and hopefully. This campaign is oppositional, of course; more importantly, it brings to the forefront many leaders who are creative, active, and unafraid of brave decision-making. The rebirth of our times truly begins with an individual who is socially active, self-reliant, and able to think along politically categorical lines. In many instances party activity has already been infused with constructiveness, energetic thinking, and knowledge of social psychology derived from personalities exhibiting industriousness, decency, intelligence, and culture. I would like to believe this tendency will also actively stimulate art enterprises, organizations, associations, and unions for our national cultural benefit.

[Jacinevicius] Following the 24th Supreme Soviet Session of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, when discussion on the Draft Constitution was postponed, your supporters became divided into two groups, which could be conditionally referred to as moderate and radical. It is worth recalling that Cardinal V. Sladkevicius positioned himself on the side of the moderates, saying: "Let us not step on one another's heels." The restoration of economic, cultural, and political sovereignty is a task that truly demands patience and perseverance, a fact probably best understood by Sajudis members, individuals from our Academy of Sciences, and a large portion of our creative intelligentsia. What

must be done, however, with these emotional explosives, whose real potential within our nation has not been even semi-realistically appraised by anyone? The inner maturity for bringing about a fundamental change in the nation's existence was underscored not just by the hundreds of thousands at meetings and the prolific press of Sajudis. On one of those days it became an indisputable reality. So what is the way out? To drag out decisions (especially in economics) while waiting for a more favorable political situation—or just the reverse, pressing the highest demands and trying to put them into practice without fear of the risks involved?

[Brazauskas] In raising these same, high demands myself, I always stop to consider two things. First, it is important to lift the heaviest burden, but it must not be one under which even a single step will be impossible to take. Second, it is permissible to risk one's own life, but not that of thousands and millions of others. I wish to state clearly and openly: The road of realism was dictated to us by none other than responsibility for the republic's people. No one would forgive us were we to shove Lithuania into a blind corner by our involvment in political adventures. For this reason all decisions must be well thought out and results must be anticipated.

Such are the ABC's of politics.

Having associated with foreigners and having read the central and, in part, the world press, I am, however, coming to the conclusion that our newest decisions and accomplishments have made quite an impression on many. Also of interest is the fact that many authoritative individuals are regarding us with concern, lest some careless action of ours destroys that which we have accomplished in those few months with such difficulty. You must agree that such wide interest in changes in Lithuania brings great responsibility.

Only some of our "hotheads" can't seem to rest easy: It is never enough; the steps are always too small.

We also say: Yes, it's not much, and it is important to strive for more, but we must do so without losing our heads and by weighing every step so there will be no need for retreat later.

We are not in a mood to procrastinate on any decisions. On the contrary, one of our greatest desires is to resolve the most urgent economic and cultural development questions, not simply independently but also effectively, efficiently, and appropriately. I think our action in establishing, defending, and preparing the practical application of the republic's economic independence concept, slated for the beginning of next year, is an obvious demonstration of this. These are steady steps toward the task we have set before us—republic sovereignty and the hastening of its economic and social development.

[Jacinevicius] The party platform announced by the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee excited the Lithuanian people also because the majority of its program proposals fall in with the Sajudis program. I think that not all residents of Lithuania have appropriately evaluated the meaning of this document, even though some factual accomplishments were hiding behind the words. Included among them are the transfer of the Vilnius Archcathedral to the faithful, the return of the national flag and hymn, the passage of the law on Lithuanian language, and the first observance of the Lithuanian independence anniversary.

Perhaps you would agree to tell your constituents about the ever-continuing polemics with the "mighty center?" Perhaps you could also talk about relations with the Commission on Baltic Affairs and about the political reality, which is most often timidly omitted in our press?

[Brazauskas] Secrets are unavoidable in politics, as well as in every other form of activity. Our people should not complain currently, however, of a lack of information. I personally gladly interact with the press, radio, and television representatives and urge other leaders to do likewise.

Not one of my visits to the "center" was hushed up. Recently, in mid-February, I met with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. Gorbachev. We touched upon various themes—the republic's economic independence, the new Draft Constitution—and I reminded him of our old problems, namely, to first of all evaluate the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and its supplements. Some of the problems were resolved rather quickly. For example, Arturas Sakalauskas has already returned to Lithuania.

I am favorably impressed by how well-informed the General Secretary is about Lithuania; he even knows the names of a large number of people.

I told him about individuals who were victims of Stalin's repressions. This subject is painful to him as leader of the country and also as a human being.

I invited him to visit Lithuania again. He replied: "I will come when I can."

I described to him in detail my visit to the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee Commission. That was not an easy examination. It suffices to keep in mind that it lasted five hours, without any intermission.

In general, at the "center," just as anywhere else, there are many intelligent individuals exhibiting political flexibility. They understand our goals and assist us in every possible way.

There are also individuals who do not pay attention to and sometimes do not wish to understand our problems.

[Jacinevicius] We are troubled by the present relationship between Sajudis and the Lithuanian Communist Party. Perhaps this is simply pre-election campaign scum, since everyone had sufficient time to get accustomed to the idea that the party needs creative opposition to help carry out restructuring more efficiently. It would not be desirable to have such opposition change into a fruitless confrontation that could bury common goals for many years.

Meanwhile, "public opinion" in both urban and rural areas is increasingly fortifying the notion that Sajudis and the Communist Party are in serious confrontation, giving rise to the question "who will seize power?" This is absurd since in its platform Sajudis has clearly stated it has no aspiration to become a political party or seek political power. Here also the Yedinstvo organization is proclaiming news about splitting portfolios. (I recall they were sobbing about that to Slyunkov, even). Considering the fragility of our political consciousness, I would think equal blame for forming the so-called "public opinion," or simply stated, the mood of the crowd, falls to Communists as well as Sajudis members. They should not be toyed with since everything we have attained is too fragile still, and what we seek is still too far away.

Thus, Esteemed Secretary, could you outline your concept of the near-future relationship between The Lithuanian Communist Party and Sajudis?

[Brazauskas] Differences in opinion must become a norm of existence. This is not only imperative, but may also become the source of very significant results in founding a democratic society. The time that the party attempted to obtain a monopoly on truth is gone, never to return. For this reason we are by no means inclined to have a confrontation with Sajudis on questions where our basic positions do not differ. We have developed this line of reasoning at the 27th Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee.

The Sajudis Seimas Council announces it is determined to support the nation's desire to unite for the good of restructuring. The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee also supports this aim. Thus, it seems that a sufficient basis for an actual rapprochement of positions exists. Also, if goodwill is to enter the picture compromise decisions will also come into being.

We received Sajudis with great hopes. From its very inception this movement declared itself for the new Communist Party leadership policy, and I don't think it should ever renounce this. I am convinced this will only serve to strengthen its public role.

We stand for harmonious cooperation between the Communist Party and Sajudis, which would become the solid foundation upon which the republic could achieve its fundamental goals.

[Jacinevicius] Certain writers are deputy candidates to the USSR Supreme Soviet. I might add, they are the most prominent and most productive ones. As is known, the democratically elected councils will have a great of deal of demanding work to do. Will our culture not experience a loss due to the fact that so many of Lithuania's most creative individuals will be engaged in economic, administrative, and juridical problems, instead of doing their God-given work? We are all noticing the absence of new creations. Perhaps these losses are to be unavoidable for the good of new Lithuania, and there is no need to be fearful. What is your opinion of the role of the creative intelligentsia in the national rebirth process?

[Brazauskas] Whenever the intelligentsia, writers especially, actively join the restructuring process, one often hears the rather logical question of whether this interferes with their creativity and concentration. Maybe there are not and should not be any simple answers here. Everything depends on their personal traits and social and political involvement.

Many brave and independent decisions, imbued with a resolve to sacrifice for an ideal, are always present in art. There—as asserted in "Mindaugas" by Justinas Marcinkevicius—one strives to "envelop an individual with the sum total to explain his cause and effect."

I don't think I am wrong in asserting that national art helped guide the Lithuanian nation through the labyrinths of false history to present day elevation, unity, and resolve.

Poetry, music, painting, sculpture, and theatrical and film presentations gave meaning to and have preserved our spirituality, ethnic differences, language beauty and moral obligations. It is not said in vain that as long as one spark shall remain, the fire will not die out. On the other hand, we regard creativity in a somewhat different manner during restructuring and a time of historical political activity.

I do not think one can isolate oneself from life and chain oneself to a writing desk, since our very nature propels us toward the whirlpool, closer to people. Naturally, artistic creations related to current times cannot, in turn, spring up hurriedly. Hurry retaliates with anti-art and a truth that is superficial. Time and individual experience are needed for that. I have hopes, however, of seeing in the near future creations that inform Lithuania and the whole world about our time of contradictions, its people and events. Literature, music, and the theater will help us all develop a deeper feeling for this time and will help us avoid overly pragmatic rationalism.

Cultural history attests to the fact that an artist is the conscience and heart of a nation. Many heed the voice of the creative intelligentsia. It seeks to become the formulator of public consciousness and a herald of progressive changes. Concomitant with this, it assumes responsibility for the national destiny.

[Jacinevicius] Emotional discussions concerning the republic's political and social situation arose at the recently held 27th Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee. The old party guard or those who just joined their ranks directed very sharp criticism at the press and ideological workers. A large segment of the population, especially the creative intelligentsia, were shocked by the intolerance, expressed in obsolete terms, for democratic changes now taking place in the republic. During a Lithuanian Radio interview you stated that the Central Committee members who spoke at the Plenum "have expressed their personal opinions regarding the existing situation." Your supporters, as well as those who support Sajudis, are very concerned about the following questions: Was there present a conscious avoidance of becoming involved in fruitless arguments? Does the tone of those who spoke out not deny the well-intentioned objectivity of your statement?

[Brazauskas] The plenum theme was dictated by time itself, which I would compare to the swiftness of a river in springtime. Its appearance is pleasing to the eye, but it also gives cause for worry lest it overflow its banks and lest our boat becomes grounded on a sandbar. Under those conditions the river of life will pass us by, while we will remain behind to suffer for a long time, until we start to move again.

In writing about our politics, journalists sometimes divide us all (since now we have all become politicians) into realists and representatives of two extreme factions. On one side, of course, are all those who imagine that all problems can be overcome with one stroke, making it possible to leap ahead without paying any attention to objective precepts of social development. The other side is occupied by those who, having been considerably frightened by our stormy existence, have begun to long for bygone years, when we all experienced calm and leaders felt more comfort.

Neither direction is acceptable to me. I am convinced that both these paths hold the same threat—a return to times we experienced previously.

That is why we wanted to reiterate our position once more during the plenum and state whose way was for us and whose was not to our liking.

This plenum has been recently discussed at the Writer's Union Party meeting. During the course of that meeting I was openly asked by the writers whether we will return to a restrictive policy.

Many are truly frightened by plurality of opinions and attitudes; however, the old days will not return again.

There is even no reason to interpret in a literal manner adherence to party principles in art. I believe that adherence to party principles in art differs from a submissive illustration and portrayal of our decisions. Thoughts and fantasy require wide open space. In its absence, art and society become impoverished. The 27th Plenum of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee gives us no cause for fear regarding these or other questions. The plenum decision is not a collection of restrictions. It is dominated by concepts dear to us all—democracy and openess, national rebirth and sovereignty. Journalistic and every creative individual's responsibility is also discussed. This is natural, since during this complicated time a word by any creative author is especially weighty, and we are not indifferent to what type of word it happens to be: inviting to consolidate or, to the contrary, sowing distrust among nations or generations and people and government.

[Jacinevicius] In view of your energetic participation in all the whirlpools of the republic's existence, and hearing about the ever present trips to the "center," the following question presents itself, somewhat unconsciously: Does the First Secretary have any time left for private life and some basic rest?

[Brazauskas] Almost none. It appears, also, that things will not change in the near future. I try to spend a free hour with my family and grandchildren. I do a lot of reading. Recently, I have begun to yearn, more and more, for some intelligent and artistically mature new creative efforts by our esteemed authors.

[Jacinevicius] Thank you for the interview.

Raising Lithuanian Language Prestige Urged

LD1905155089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 18 Mar 89 p 4

[Letter-to-the-Editor by Laima Grumadiene, Lithuanianist and sociolinguist, entitled "Force Is Not Going To Bring Acceptance."]

[Text] The juridical acts, legalizing Lithuanian as the state language, are highly important. It is time to take the second step—to form public opinion and raise the prestige of the Lithuanian language. Force does not help to instill love of a language, especially, if the language happens to be not your own. That is a lengthy undertaking.

Thus, on the basis of my being a Lithuanist and a sociolinguist, I was invited, by the "Zinija" Association, to lecture in Salcininkai Rayon, on 2 March 1989. Two weeks prior to this date, a group of lecturers had been selected, including Doctors of History Science R. Zepkaite and A. Tyla, Interpreter V. Cepaitis, Doctor of Philosophy A. Andrijauskas and me, a linguist. The Rayon cancelled the first three lecturers, on 1 March. A. Andrijauskas, Morkunas, deputy chief of "Zinija" Association, and I set out on the lecture circuit.

C. Visotskis, Rayon Party Committee secretary received us politely, but rebuked us, by pointing out this was hardly the time for lectures, since the rayon is ruled by

separatist moods, making lectures by historians particularly unwelcome; this was supposedly the reason for cancelling the lectures by noted historians; anything which is related to Sajudis is renounced, in general.

I gave my lectures in the following three auditoriums: Jasiunai State Farm, collective of Salcininkai Kolkhoz Automobile transport Enterprise and the Party Rayon and Executive Committee Workers' collectives. They asked me a multitude of questions, rebuking me at times:

—Lithuanian might be necessary for you in Lithuania, but don't agitate us here, since Polish and Russian languages suffice for us; if you fail to legalize all three state languages, we are going to declare our autonomy;

—you, in Lithuania, are keeping the lion's share of the funds allotted for social and cultural needs, because you put Lithuanians first, that is why we are declaring our autonomy;

—you regard Lithuanians as the principal nationality in Lithuania, but here, in Salcininkai, we consider the Poles such a nationality and that's why we are declaring our autonomy;

—a few years from now, all those who don't speak and write Lithuanian will be dismissed from their jobs, that's why we are declaring our autonomy;

—there are no opportunities given to study the Lithuanian language: Even now the Rayon schools are 14 Lithuanian language teachers short and courses are being scheduled at inopportune times (for farm residents, from 7:00 or 7:30 PM) and the courses are expensive; that is why it is better to have autonomy, since Lithuanian will not be necessary then.

I tried to understand how this situation came about and where did we fail, in our efforts, to forestall such opposition to our language law. Why did 11 districts in Vilnius Rayon declare autonomy, as did two in Salcininkai (Dieveniskiai and Eisiskiai rural)? Dieveniskiai district contains two very old Lithuanian villages; the only Lithuanian 9-year school in the entire Rayon is located in Poskoniai Village; Dievenishkiai Middle School is trilingual. It's true the Poskoniai School may not remain Lithuanian for very long: The kindergarten is Russian and a new school, four times the size of the present one, is presently under construction (joined to the Russian school of the neighboring village, it will already become mixed...).

The situation is complex and can not be altered in one day. It is imperative to conduct serious scientific research on the situtation in southeastern Lithuania. This is not to be attempted in fits and starts, nor by establishing temporary commissions, but by conducting general ongoing inquiries to research cultural orientation.

In Salcininkai Rayon, 84 percent of the population is registered as Poles. During the period of the Pildsuskiytes occupation, people became Polish against their will even, while today, their children and grandchildren are unable to register as Lithuanians, even if they so desire; there are those who would like to change their nationality, but our laws do not permit it. It is important to resolve these questions on an administrative level.

Many non-Lithuanian speakers of the Salcininkai areas consider themselves Polish, but they speak in Belorussian (in Poprost). It had been previously asserted this was a jargon of Polish, and this is why many believe that even now. In practice, the children of such Polish parents are not learning their native tongue, but a foreign one, in Polish schools.

This area has contributed so many notable individuals to the world who will continue their honorable traditions, given that a very low level of education exists here and the alcoholism and poverty levels are especially high here, in comparison with the rest of Lithuania? National self-awareness often lacks strength here; cultural traditions are fractured (they know several languages, but only haphazardly so).

No one is preparing to change their national self-awareness—this would indeed be undemocratic. An individual who feels he is Polish should remain a Pole with dignity. But it is not permissible to allow in the name of statistical majority, which contains very recently assimilated individuals, a practice of denationalizing those last Mohican Lithuanians who remain.

People's Deputy Advocates Latvian Sovereignty

LD2405230789 Riga Domestic Service in Latvia 1930 GMT 24 May 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On Sunday evening thousands of people saw the deputies off on their way to Moscow. Replying to the good wishes, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, senior member on the teaching staff of the State Academy of Art's chair of social sciences Mavriks Vulfsons said:

[Begin Vulfsons recording] We promise you that we shall stay in Moscow for as long, and we shall fight as long [applause], and we shall fight as long here in Latvia as necessary until the red, white, and red flag, as the state flag, flies above a free and independent, sovereign Latvia. [applause] [end recording]

Construction of Ukraine Power Station Halted

LD2505115889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] A report from Kiev: The construction of the Chigirin Nuclear Electric Power Station has been halted by a decision of the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet

Socialist Republic. The public has spoken against its construction on the banks of the Dnieper, in an area where unique natural, historic, and cultural monuments of the Ukraine are situated.

Ukrainian Religious Activists Arrested in Moscow
AU2605112689 Paris AFP in English 1101 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 26 (AFP)—Five Ukrainian Catholic activists were arrested here Friday morning within half an hour of declaring a hunger strike to press for legalization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which recognizes Rome, one of their supporters said.

They were arrested outside the Moscow Hotel where the Ukrainian representatives to the new Congress of People's Deputies were staying for the assembly's inaugural session, which opened Thursday. [25 May]

Anatoliy Dotsenko, the Moscow representative for a group called the Helsinki Association of the Ukraine, which supports the strikers, said the five were arrested as the congress opened debate on a law restricting the right to demonstrate.

He said they had outlined their demand to one of the Ukrainian deputies, Rotislav Bratun.

The Ukrainian Catholics, known as Uniates, have staged several protests here in the last two weeks to press their demands.

Poisoning at Armenia Industrial Plants Unexplained
LD2605103689 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2030 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] The Armenian people are going though days of crisis and hope. For the past several days, approved and unapproved meetings have been going on in Yerevan. The young people are holding a sit-in on the steps of the Matenadaran [the library of ancient manuscripts and a focal point of demonstrations over the past week], near the entrance to the Marshal Bagramyan Station of the subway, and in the square of the central complex of the state university. Workers and employees at a number of industrial enterprises and students of certain educational establishments have gone on partial strikes—and all of this under curfew conditions, even though no tanks and soldiers are visible on the streets of the capital.

Why? There can be no unequivocal answer to this question because the issues that move the people and cause them a certain sense of crisis are many. First, as we have repeatedly reported, strikes have been resumed in Nagorno-Karabakh since 3 May, with the demand for unification with Mother Armenia. On the other hand, every single phenomenon in Nagorno-Karabakh—be it joyful or painful—finds immediate echoes in Mother Armenia as our blood courses to the same beat.

Then again, periodic cases of people being poisoned in different parts and industrial enterprises of Armenia have yet to be explained and their culprits exposed.

Finally, people are deeply concerned by the uncertain state of the arrested members of the Karabakh Committee. This matter was clarified to a certain extent only yesterday when Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party, said in an interview with a correspondent of ARMENPRES that he had personally interceded with Sukharev, chief procurator of the Soviet Union, to show a humanitarian approach toward the members of the Karabakh Committee.

Armenian Party on National Flag, Independence Day
NC2505120389 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Yerevan, 24 May (ARMENPRES)—Considering the fact that the date of the reestablishment of Armenian statehood is a burning political and scientific issue [USSR and Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] never recognized 28 May 1918 independence day of Armenia, regarding independent Armenia as an imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary setup, and considering instead 29 November sovietization of Armenia as the date of reestablishment of Armenian statehood for the first time since the last middle ages], the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has decided to instruct the Ideological Committee of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee to study the date for the reinstatement of the statehood of the Armenian people and the matter of recognition of the tricolor [the red, blue, and orange flag of independent Armenia between 1918-1920] as the national symbol, and to put forward suggestions to the Armenian Communist Party in this regard.

The Armenian Academy of Sciences has been instructed to organize a scientific session on this issue before 26 May, 1989, in cooperation with the Party-History Institute of the Armenian Communist Party and the Marxism-Leninism branch of the CPSU Central Committee.

Armenia's Arutyunyan on NKAO Committee, Reforms
NC2505133489 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Dear compatriots, Armenian radio and television aired an interview given by Suren Arutunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, to an ARMENPRES correspondent. All the republican papers later published this interview.

The questions put to the first secretary of the Central Committee are manifold in subject and importance, and they include virtually all the problems distressing the Armenian people, from those concerning the evolving perestroyka in the Soviet Union to the treatment of the members of the Karabakh committee.

Referring to perestroyka and glasnost, Suren Arutyunyan said that restructuring is the mainstay of the Soviet people and that all the expectations of the people hinge on it. At the same time, restructuring is also bringing with it specific problems for each republic and region, in addition to the general problems already facing the country. The Armenian people too have their own specific problems that have accumulated over the years of the personality cult and stagnation. Then, suddenly, he said, restructuring and glasnost launched the Armenian people toward a magnificent renaissance of national self-awareness and from this too arose the unprecedented Karabakh movement. Then the massive earthquake struck. Considering that even in such a tragic moment the Armenian people did not forget Artsakh, one can imagine the unfathomable and unrelieved pain that had accumulated in the hearts of the Armenian people. This means that the Karabakh movement has turned into a national issue and ideology.

Referring to the activity of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee, Suren Arutyunyan mentioned that though it was [words indistinct] a timely step and inspired hopes, the committee failed to resolve the problems devolved on it. The committee failed to fully transform itself into a new administrative form. The NKAO's social and economic problems were not solved, he said, and from this emerged discontent, strikes, more determined and resolute demands, and insistence on unity with the motherland and its people.

Suren Arutyunyan then referred to the problems related to correctly and untendentiously assessing the history of the Armenian people. The most important issue, he said, is the need to reassess the national liberation struggle waged in Armenia toward the end of the 19th Century and at the turn of the 20th Century, as well as the condemnation of the Ottoman empire's policy methodically annihilating an entire people, a policy whose massive and monstrous manifestation was the major genocide of the Armenians in 1915 in western Armenia.

After a passage of several decades, he continued, the bloody butchery in Sumgait took place, which created justified anger and rage in the hearts of the Armenian people, particularly in view of the fact that crime was not given a proper assessment.

Arutyunyan also made reference to the need to assess the reestablishment of Armenian statehood in 1918, in particular under the current revolutionary restructuring conditions when many blank pages are being filled in and the historical truths about the destiny of the people of our country are being reinstated. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee September 1988 Plenum underlined the necessity of reevaluating a series of events in the history of the Armenian people. One of these was the question of recognizing 28 May 1918 as the day of the reinstatement of Armenian statehood, including its symbol, the tricolor flag [red, blue and orange flag of independent Armenia between 1918-1920]. 28 May 1918, the day of the reinstatement of national statehood, is truly a noble and fateful date in Armenian history.

Therefore, he said, the competent organizations have been instructed to put forward suggestions to the Armenian Communist Party with a view to submitting these suggestions to the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium. A scientific seminar will also be devoted to this issue.

In conclusion, Suren Arutyunyan disclosed that he has personally appealed to the USSR chief procurator, requesting him to display a humanitarian approach toward the members of the Karabakh committee.

Suren Arutyunyan's replies to the ARMENPRES correspondent were satisfactorily received by the workers of the republic. The unity of views and aims between the leadership and the people is one of the manifestations of democracy and perestroyka, and opens up many opportunities for the cohesive struggle to realize the national dreams.

Tasks on Armenian Reconstruction Detailed

18210012 Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 May 89 p 2

[Commentary by S. Snegirev (Moscow): "Not Only the Elements Are To Blame..."

[Text] **As already reported, on 12 May a commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo considered the course of the restoration work in the regions of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] that suffered from the earthquake, and the implementation of decisions made by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers for cleaning up after it. The commission also discussed the report from the state commission for verification of the quality of design and construction of mass series residential buildings in the northern regions of the Armenian SSR and the reasons why they were destroyed.**

Today we are publishing a commentary from our special correspondent who was present at the meeting of the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

Yes, during the time that has passed since the day of the tragedy that struck Armenia the pain of the losses has subsided. And there is just one alarming question that originated even at that time, in December, that will not let us rest: Was it only the elements that were to blame for this disaster on such a monstrous scale... And last Friday the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo gave its clear and precise answer: Also involved was a lack of conscientiousness, negligence, irresponsibility, and dishonesty, and in the end specific individuals greatly exacerbated the tragedy. And so the catastrophic consequences of the earthquake were caused by more than just its high number on the Richter scale. These conclusions are cold and harsh, but objective. Who specifically is to blame for what happened and

what is the degree of responsibility of each of these people—these will still have to be determined. As we know, the summary materials of the state commission—and they fill 26 large volumes—will be turned over to the USSR Procuracy to initiate a criminal suit. The parties who exacerbated the tragedy should be held responsible with the full strictness of the law.

Careful investigations and expert evaluations conducted by various organizations independently of one another revealed the grossest violations as early as the stage of designing the residential buildings. Many of the designs had no structural solutions which are supposed to provide for reliability of the structures under earthquake conditions. This pertains particularly to stone buildings and frame and panel buildings of the 111 series. Moreover, when the plans for buildings of this series were approved they did not take into account the results of previous tests which showed their low seismic resistance. Expert evaluation showed that the design of these buildings is not sturdy enough when there is an earthquake of force 8 (recall that in Spitak the shock of the underground wave reached force 9-10, and in Leninakan—8.5-9). And here we have these same frame and panel buildings plus the stone ones which will not hold up under active seismic influence either and which comprised most of the mass buildup in the regions that suffered. And another thing that is important to note: There was no need to wait for a tragedy to create a commission and conduct expert evaluations to understand the criminal error of such a step. All preceding earthquakes in the USSR had confirmed that the resistance of such buildings to the effects of earthquakes was inadequate.

Members of the state commission were unanimous in the opinion that even with such extremely gross errors in planning, many of the buildings in the zone of the disaster could have held up were it not for the poor quality of the construction materials as well as of all the work. During the course of the comprehensive investigation of 66 projects and 16 enterprises of the republic's construction industry and enterprises that produce various construction materials revealed violations of technological processes, a lack of any kind of quality control, gross violations of plans, extremely poor quality of reinforced concrete items, mortar, inert materials, and other fillers... In certain structures the durability of the concrete was 2-3 times less than planned! Reinforcements and embedded fittings were not fastened in crucial places. Welding work was performed poorly everywhere. In a number of buildings, for example, the stairwells were generally installed without any welding at all, and as a result they tumbled down immediately after the first underground shocks. The state commission stated: All structural elements were manufactured in violation of the technical specifications.

Here it is appropriate to make one more digression. The specialists conducted all the investigations and expert evaluations in buildings that escaped complete destruction—they were rickety, cracked, and partially destroyed... The ruins of completely destroyed buildings, unfortunately, could not provide an objective picture. But it is not difficult to imagine how much greater the grossest violations were in the buildings that were destroyed as compared to those that were discovered in the buildings that by some miracle had survived.

The state commission report gave the following egregious fact: The durability indicators of the mortar for the masonry work were one-fifth the normative, and in the reinforced concrete slabs they were only 40 percent of what was calculated. What more can be said if the mortar or concrete crumbles in your hands?! And yet the republic's economic leaders could not but know about this. At one time in the OKS [capital construction division] of Spitak in particular there were 10 injunctions because of the poor quality of construction. It was said to be necessary to take immediate measures to increase the support capability of the buildings being constructed since the durability of the mortar and concrete during the laboratory tests was from...0 to 50 percent of the planned values! But these demands were ignored...

It is with sorrow that one must say that such a gloomy "palette" of violations was discovered in almost every project that was investigated. One can only be amazed at the miracle by which, for example, the stone "five-story" on Shirakatsi Street, 52, in Leninakan stood up. The reinforced concrete panels, walls, and ceilings here were not held together with a concrete anti-earthquake strip, which was an absolute necessity. But if the builders of SU-46 [construction administration-46] of the local Lenstroy trust had decided to do this work, nothing would have come of it since the walls did not even have fixture openings so they could be attached to the concrete strip. And these strips could hardly be called anti-earthquake since many of them did not have the necessary fittings and the durability of the concrete was one-third of what had been planned. In these buildings the stone walls are fastened to special columns, which strengthens the frame for durability. So approximately 60 percent of the wall stood on its own and the columns stood on their own. They were not fastened! And it would have been impossible to fasten them in 11 out of the 18 joints—again there were no holes for the fittings for these purposes. Finally the strength of the mortar for the masonry on the walls of the first and third stories turned out to be one-thirtieth (!) of what was planned and was practically equal to zero...

The data from the investigation of several frame and panel buildings of series 111 that partially survived in the first microrayon of Leninakan are just as disturbing. The siding slabs were frequently applied without being joined to the cross bars. The durability of the mortar of the solid joints of the columns went down to one-eighth of the design norm. The stair-wells were not welded to the designed plates and were literally hooked in any old way to the metal that happened to be bent back. Some of the fittings were even cut off. And in a number of

buildings the builders of SU-71 and SU-46 of the Leninakan Lenstroy trust did not do any welding at all—the massive stair- wells were held in place only by their own weight. In all of the buildings the interior walls made of slag-concrete blocks had no reinforcement and even in the buildings that survived they were destroyed with the first underground shocks and people were injured. And not only the builders were to blame for this—the local designers "forgot" to include the reinforcements in the plans...

As the investigation showed, there was criminal negligence in the construction of a number of children's preschool institutions and schools. Thus, for example, in the sports and assembly hall of school No 19 in Leninakan four 12-meter siding slabs crashed down. They had simply not been fastened...

Finally, one must mention this. In a republic which has been an earthquake zone for centuries there is no elementary special training for builders. In engineering-construction VUZ's [higher educational institutions] there is no course in earthquake construction except for an optional one. There is not even any mention of such a course in tekhnikums. Workers are trained according to standard unionwide programs... Why? Were these special occurrences really necessary to grasp such a simple truth?

The earthquake in Armenia taught us bitter lessons. In keeping with the results of the work of the commission, specialists have already developed a number of measures that will make it possible to radically improve construction in earthquake zones. Much will have to be done in the immediate future.

The situation in the stricken regions of Armenia remains tense. The main reason is the low rates of construction work. Therefore in the commission of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo a rigid, uncompromising decision was made: The breakthrough in construction must come in May-June.

Let us conclude our discussion with the words of N.I. Ryzhkov. Upon completing the consideration of the issue Nikolay Ivanovich said:

We have lived through a difficult 5 months since the earthquake. During that time, of course, an immense amount of work has been done, and this must not be forgotten. It was necessary to save people and conduct emergency rescue work. All of our forces and our best specialists were put to work here. This was a noble impulse on the part of all Soviet people. But since January we have entered a new stage—a stage of restoration. And here we have encountered difficulties which it would have been quite possible to avoid if we had done better work.

Four months ago we began to do everything enthusiastically and conscientiously. Nobody had to be driven; nobody waited for commands. Today we feel that we are beginning to see perfunctoriness in our work, a cooling off. Or is there more distance between us and the disaster so that we feel we can begin to take it easy? But we do not have the right to take it easy. The restoration of the regions of Armenia that were destroyed is an issue of not only social, but also great political significance. The people know about our program. Our documents have been published in full in Armenian newspapers and the people remember all of our promises. They can see for themselves what is being done and what is not.

We must keep our word regardless of how difficult this may be. We must not let up for a moment. We must make maximum use of the summer months. Instead of having 140,000 construction workers at the construction sites today we have only 70,000. Can this be allowed? Can you and I really plead such disorder—interruptions in the delivery of materials, the lack of a work front, and so forth? We must solve these problems, not discuss them. There is no other way for us.

11-12 May Stepanakert 'Tense' Situation Reported

PM2505095589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 13 May 89 p 2

[ARMENPRESS own correspondent A. Grigoryan report: "On the Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Stepanakert—The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] remains tense. Yesterday, 11 May, the strike continued in Stepanakert. With the exception of enterprises offering vital services to the population, and also air and railroad transport, communications services, and medical institutions, all other socioproduction and cultural establishments were on strike. Outside the agrarian sector, the normal working rhythm was broken in Mardakertskiy, Martuninskiy, Askeranskiy, and Gadrutskiy Rayons. However, at the "Oktember" state farm [sovkhoz] in the village of Tug, Gadrutskiy Rayon, even spring sowing and other work was partially interrupted. In the oblast center and settlement of Askeran measures were taken to resume classes in schools.

Toward the end of the morning some 700 people, residents of the city, concerned by the arrival of some leading Azerbaijani figures in Stepanakert, gathered in front of the building of the Soviet apparatus of the NKAO Special Administration Committee. Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, chairman of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, came out to speak to them. He listened to people's demands and answered a number of questions asked by the public.

Today, 12 May, the situation in the autonomous oblast remained unchanged as a whole in the first half of the day. Classes in schools in Stepanakert have partially resumed, mainly the senior grades. No transgressions on interethnic grounds have been registered.

Azerbaijan Conference on Ideology, Media Aides

PM2505101589 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 13 May 89 p 2

[AZERINFORM report: "More Actively Restructure Ideological Work"]

[Text] The problems of further deepening the restructuring of ideological work at the present stage have been discussed at a conference of the republic's ideological workers. The following took part in its work: secretaries of city party committees [gorkoms], rayon party committees [raykoms], and the party committees of ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations, higher education establishments [VUZes], scientific institutions, mass media and propaganda bodies, and creative unions.

The conference was opened by R.Ya. Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee. The report by R.A. Aliyev, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department, and the speeches by Ch.A. Faradzhev, first secretary of Khachmasskiy party raykom, S.Ch. Kasumova, secretary of Baku party gorkom, S.I. Guseynova, second secretary of Kirovabad party gorkom, E.V. Ismaylov, secretary of Sumgait party gorkom, and M.M. Gasanov, secretary of Imishlinskiy party raykom, stressed that the new ideological situation taking shape in the country and the restructuring of the public awareness demand comprehensive improvement in the party's ideological activity and decisive renewal of the forms and methods of political education work. And this means rejecting erratic campaigns and formalism, learning to work in complex, sometimes unusual situations, and conducting a frank, constructive dialogue with people. An important aspect of resolving these tasks is to form a scientific concept concerning the priority areas of ideological work by the republic's party organization in political, socioeconomic, and spiritual life.

The ideological aktiv and grassroots party organizations, it was noted at the conference, are expected to play an increasing role in the tasks of deepening the restructuring processes and enhancing the effectiveness of economic and political reform. A great deal has still to be done, the speakers said, to improve interethnic relations and make the atmosphere in the region healthier. It is necessary to work purposefully and persistently on international and patriotic education, combat any manifestations of ethnic narrow-mindedness, and create the conditions for the cultural and spiritual development of all nations and ethnic groups living in the republic.

A subject of party organizations' particular concern should be that of solving the tasks of restructuring public education and enhancing the effectiveness of scientific research. It is the duty and responsibility of every party committee to ensure an effective influence on every aspect of life in secondary and higher schools and scientific establishments and focus attention on giving ideological backing to the processes taking place in these spheres.

Independent social movements should also be given a fundamental political assessment, the conference participants pointed out. The positive forces of informal associations must be broadly involved in solving the vital problems of restructuring, while at the same time giving a determined rebuttal to the leaders of those formations who are trying to destabilize the situation and whip up interethnic discord.

The processes of revolutionary renewal and the development of glasnost and democracy taking place in the republic, as in the rest of the country, pose new tasks for mass media and propaganda bodies. Without allowing petty tutelage over editorial offices' activity, party committees must endeavor to increase the role and influence of primary party organizations in newspapers, journals, television, and radio and also increase their responsibility for educating journalists and improving their professional expertise.

An important role belongs to party committees in enhancing the effectiveness of political and economic instruction. They must shift the focus of their work to the primary party organizations, ensure the fruitfulness of Marxist-Leninist education, and effectively engage in the education of propaganda cadres.

One topical aspect of ideological work mentioned by the conference participants was the question of enhancing the role played by the creative intelligentsia and members of cultural establishments in resolving the tasks of spiritual development and shaping a new public consciousness. The primary party organizations of creative unions and cultural establishments are expected to do their utmost to promote their active involvement in restructuring and make better use of art's potential in the ideological and aesthetic education of the masses.

The conference also discussed the main areas of activity of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission.

"Roundtable" meetings have also been held in which the leaders of the republic's ministries and departments, creative unions, and mass media have taken part.

Moldavian Party Central Committee Plenum Held

PM2505140989 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 12 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Information Report on the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee was held in Kishinev 11 May.

First secretaries of party city committees [gorkom] and rayon committees [raykom], leaders of ministries and departments and public organizations of the republic, and chairmen of city soviet executive committees [gorispolkom] and rayon soviet executive committees [rayispolkom], not being members of the republic party organizations' elected organs, were invited to the plenum, as were also a group of party organization secretaries, labor collective leaders, and trade union and Communist Youth League [Komsomol] aktiv members.

The plenum examined the matter of the sociopolitical situation in the republic and the party organizations' tasks concerning the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum directives.

A report was delivered by S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. (The report is being published separately.)

Taking part in the debate were I.Z. Kotorobay, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and troubleshooter at the "Kishinevskiy Traktornyy Zavod" Production Association; L.V. Tsurkan, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of Tiraspol party gorkom; A.A. Mokanu, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium; Yu.V. Yarovaya, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Auditing Commission and fur dresser and pattern cutter at the Beltsy fur combine; V.I. Glebov, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, secretary of the Moldavian Trade Union Council, and chairman of the Agro-Industrial Complex Workers Trade Union Republican Committee; G.I. Lavranchuk, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Moldavian SSR KGB; V.N. Bumbak, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and team leader of Ryshkanskiy Rayon's "Put Ilicha" state farm; N.A. Tsyu, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and first secretary of Kishinev party gorkom; S.V. Grozdev, first secretary of Komratskiy party raykom; D.P. Bragish, first secretary of the Moldavian Komsomol; M.Kh. Popov, candidate member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and chief of the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Political Department; G.F. Anton, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of Strashenskiy party raykom; G.P. Volovoy, secretary of the Bendery experimental plant party bureau; B.M. Stratulat, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and editor of the journal KOMUNISTUL MOLDOVEY (KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII); B.Ye. Melnik, rector of the V.I. Lenin Kishinev State University; D.G. Zidu, member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and Moldavian SSR minister of public education; N.G. Vrynchanu, manager of the "Grazhdanstroy" Trust; V.G. Apostol, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Theatrical Workers Union Board and USSR people's deputy.

S.K. Grossu delivered a closing speech.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the matter under discussion. (The resolution will be published separately.)

The plenum examined organizational questions.

The plenum relieved N.F. Bondarchuk of his duties as secretary and member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee at his request and in connection with his transfer to other work.

The plenum elected I.T. Gutsu, hitherto chairman of Kishinev Gorispolkom, secretary and member of the Bureau of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum appointed I.T. Gutsu chairman of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Commission.

The plenum relieved G.M. Volkov of his duties as candidate member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum expressed thanks to G.M. Volkov for his many years of fruitful work within the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

The plenum granted the request by V.A. Samorodskiy to be relieved of his duties as member of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his departure outside the republic and his election as secretary of the Smolensk Oblast CPSU Committee.

The plenum elected as candidate members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau L.D. Dikusar, spinner at the Tiraspol cotton production association, and G.I. Lavranchuk, chairman of the Moldavian SSR KGB, members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum coopted as members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and elected as candidate members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau V.A. Kazyulin, chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department, and M.I. Muntyan, opera soloist from the A.S. Pushkin Moldavian State Academic Opera and Ballet Theater, secretary of the theater primary party organizations, and USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

The plenum relieved S.D. Roshku of his duties as chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department in connection with his transfer to other work.

The plenum appointed A.D. Gandraburu, hitherto first secretary of Bessarabskiy party raykom, chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department.

The plenum relieved M.D. Yeremiya of his duties as editor of the republic newspaper MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum appointed F.G. Tsopu editor of the republic newspaper MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE, having relieved him of duties as chief editor of the journal TRIBUNA.

The plenum appointed I.M. Grossu chief editor of the journal TRIBUNA.

Colonel General V.V. Osipov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and I.F. Feklistov, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum's work.

Moldavian People's Front Holds Founding Congress
LD2405052889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] The founding congress of the People's Front of Moldavia has taken place in Kishinev. Participating in its work were 147 delegates put forward by rayon and city coordination committees of the Democratic Movement in Support of Restructuring, as well as representatives of various informal public organizations in the republic.

Turkmen Secretary Niyazov Speaks to Republic
PM2505133989 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 7 May 89 p 1

["Speech by S.A. Niyazov, First Secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee, on Republican Television on 6 May 1989"]

[Text] Dear comrades!

I wish to devote our meeting today to the emerging moral and political situation in the republic and talk about the position of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee and the republic leadership on what happened after the May Day demonstrations in Ashkhabad. This is necessary also because rumors continue to circulate, spread by irresponsible, politically immature people, about supposed possible repetitions of the negative phenomena.

My last speech to the party Central Committee prompted numerous responses: from workers, kolkhoz [collective farm] members, and creative workers who approve the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee course of the further deepening of restructuring, the steady development of glasnost, and the democratization of all aspects of party life and express confidence that in the republic these processes have become irreversible.

This confidence has a firm basis. It was the moral and political maturity of workers and employees and the international friendship of all working people that made it possible to improve the republic's economic indicators in the first 4 months of the year. On the basis of the results of the first 4 months, the growth rate of industrial production was more than 6 percent. Plans for oil and gas recovery were successfully fulfilled, and targets for the production of meat, milk, and eggs were overfulfilled. The tables of the republic's inhabitants—and we are rightly proud of this!—are well supplied. The main food products—meat, butter, sausages, dairy products, and others—can be acquired today in many stores in the cities and rayons. There have been considerable improvements—and people have already felt the benefits—in sales of industrial goods that are in high demand. The sale of these goods actually at the enterprises, on farms, and at organizations, under direct, stringent monitoring by the soviets and the public, is proving justified.

The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee realizes that this does not mean that all our problems are solved. There still are many, very many shortcomings and problems. And we have no right to be complacent. We were profoundly disturbed by what happened in Ashkhabad after the May Day demonstration. This has already been spoken of in detail.

During meetings with working people, especially in the last few days, they have more and more often expressed anxiety about these events. They voice justified concern: Will not such incidents slow down the restructuring process in the republic? They ask: Are there forces of some kind behind the adolescents? They demand an answer: Who stood to gain?

The Central Committee cannot but respond to the anxiety of even part of the population. Moreover, its members are seriously concerned about the acts of hooliganism by an immature group of young people, although they ended without any major outrages. Analyzing the situation and examining the reasons for what happened, we suggest that the anti-restructuring forces were orchestrated. Some of the leaders were arrested. An investigation is now under way, and will be taken to its conclusion.

It should be noted that at the initial stage of the developing events, when measures of persuasion aimed at the lawbreakers failed to produce positive results, the internal affairs organs showed a lack of resolve in clamping

down on the acts of hooliganism, and temporarily lost control of the situation. This is to some extent due to the fact that there were many juveniles, and even children, among the hooligans.

We have serious complaints against the internal affairs organs for their lack of resolve in cutting short the hooliganism. We believe that had the militia workers reacted more promptly and resolutely in using the force of law against the hooligans, the moral and material damage done would have been incomparably smaller.

Law enforcement organs, especially militia workers, must learn from their mistakes and refrain from going soft on hooligan elements. It is necessary to root out all kinds of violations of public order and prevent grounds for a repetition of such instances from developing. We have the forces and resources to do this.

In the course of stopping the acts of hooliganism the internal affairs organs detained about 100 people; 3 of them became the subject of criminal proceedings and were arrested the same day.

The investigative organs are studying the cases of the other participants and, in accordance with the law, they too will be subject to appropriate punishments. Moreover measures are being adopted for compensation for the losses caused to the state at the expense of the culprits or at the expense of the parents of juveniles. Everyone who took part in acts of hooliganism, regardless of whether he is an adolescent or an adult, must be held to account for his actions. Those are the facts. And there is, as the saying goes, no escaping the facts. But I think it would be a mistake to see only the criminal elements as the instigators. It is not impossible that some of them had "ideological" inspirers among those who find restructuring not to their liking. It cannot be denied, comrades, that there are forces in the republic that are far from delighted with the changes taking place in our lives and are ready at any moment to torpedo practical steps to implement the course mapped out by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. I say this frankly, without concealment. I say it because one cannot keep silent!

I am talking about those who found the ground knocked out from under their feet, so to speak, as a result of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee's harsh measures to establish the principles of socialist justice everywhere. They are various kinds of bureaucrats and bribetakers, speculators and extortionists, manipulators of the "black" economy, in other words all who do not get on with Soviet laws and the norms of communist morality.

Exploiting difficulties that the party itself is speaking about openly and taking advantage of the insufficient political literacy of certain strata of the population and the youthful maximalism of the young, anti-restructuring forces seek to sow confusion in our ranks, start a panic, and involve us in endless investigations of various manifestations of hooliganism. The aim is as obvious as it is base—to distract us from creative work and use up the time that is so badly needed for the implementation of our plans and for improving living conditions.

Yesterday at Ashkhabad City party committee [gorkom] we met with the city aktiv, among them Turkmens, Russians, Armenians, and people of other nationalities. All the participants in this meeting unanimously emphasized the need to strengthen the peoples' friendship and ensure well-organized work by the city's labor collectives and a normal moral and political climate in both the city and the republic. We have the forces and the potential to stop the actions of those who are today engaged in incitement and rumor-mongering. And it seems to us that this will be stopped. No one will be allowed to encroach on any nation or injure people's national pride.

It is true that during the adolescents' acts of hooliganism some people spoke out against the Armenian population. But I wish to stress that many of the Armenians living in Ashkhabad were born here, their fathers and grandfathers are buried here, they were born here with us, they contributed enormously to our republic's development. And if anyone today hopes to cause dissension between us, he is profoundly mistaken and has forgotten about the law that exists aimed at stopping interethnic strife.

We have a profound respect for the Armenian people. And at the meeting at the Ashkhabad party gorkom we apologized to our comrades for the fact that some people would like to speculate on our relationship. No, we will not permit this! Writers, poets, scientists, and religious leaders of all nations and ethnic groups living in Ashkhabad, speaking at the meeting, gave assurances that we will cherish lovingly the friendship forged over more than 70 years. I am convinced that if we lose the impetus and slacken the pace in the existing situation, elements that do not like the moral and psychological climate in the republic today, adopting the guise of restructurers, will begin to gloat.

I do not want to sow unnecessary anxiety in your hearts. What I have just said is not yet a reality. But we have seen, for instance, from the example of other regions how negative processes can lead to undesirable consequences. At present the republic's healthy forces should show vigilance, political vision, and the ability to think in terms of restructuring. We have no moral right to yield to provocations!

We will not allow the malicious spreaders of rumors and idle conjectures to gamble with the future of the revolutionary transformations taking place in the republic. In the course of the investigation into the May Day events it emerged that in a number of cases the hooligans were shouting words aimed at kindling national discord. The Central Committee possesses information indicating that these met with a certain response in other regions of

the republic too—unhealthy and sometimes simply provocative rumors are being vigorously whipped up there. In these conditions only one correct path remains—the path of glasnost and resolute opposition to antirestructuring forces, however insignificant they may be. There should be no place in our life for slogans alien to the spirit of socialist internationalism!

Comrades! Just before my speech, the television screened a movie about Turkmenistan's really terrible experiences in October 1948. Was there a single mother whose heart did not break on seeing the inhuman suffering inflicted on children, regardless of their nationality? Was there a single man who did not furtively wipe away a tear or clench his teeth in impotence?—many of us have relatives buried forever in the graves of that fatal fall. And what about the feeling of genuine gratitude—which warmed our souls for decades—for the selfless and unselfish assistance given to the republic by Russians and Ukrainians, Kazakhs and Armenians, Uzbeks, and Azerbaijanis, and other peoples in the Land of the Soviets, sharing the little they had in the hard postwar times? Are we going to give an opportunity to sow even a hint of mistrust between the offspring of those who finished building our sunny city shoulder to shoulder, in conditions of famine and cold weather?

And another point. I am addressing you on the eve of Victory Day, a sacred holiday for each and every one of us, a truly nationwide holiday. While bowing our heads in respect for the memory of those who upheld our freedom and delivered the world from the Brown Plague, let us recall: The best sons and daughters of all USSR peoples without exception lost their lives on the endless frontlines of the Great Patriotic War. As we look at the flickering Eternal Flame let us recall: Thousands of obelisks with one and the same sign in common—a five-pointed star—stand on the soil of the Caucasus and the Ukraine, Belorussia and Estonia, Russia and Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. No distinctions in terms of age, national affiliation, or religion. Surely their mortal remains tug at our heartstrings today? Surely the common memory of them reinforces the bonds of friendship and brotherhood?

Comrades! Unfortunately, not only good but evil as well can be international. In the same way as the common interest can be not only constructive. This is directly related to our conversation today, because windows in the streets were smashed by adolescents of different nationalities. And I am convinced that those who egged on the hooligans were also an ill-assorted mixture. But they did share a common interest—to restore their lost privileges.

All healthy forces in the republic (and they are in the majority) must display wisdom. After all, there can be no restructuring without realism, sober thinking, high political culture, and democratic traditions. And these qualities must be doubly apparent when interethnic relations are at issue. We all should pause and reflect: Just one spark can cause a conflagration. It is the same in the international question: At times a single irresponsible word by just one individual is sufficient to discredit the entire national image of a whole people.

I want to say firmly that nobody is allowed to breach the USSR Constitution! And today I am forced to warn those who spread rumors and inflame passions, those who from behind the scenes basely push adolescents into breaking the law, and those who may still intend to do this: They will be held most strictly accountable under Soviet laws. This is not a threat. This is legality. At this point I would like to remind parents whose overgrown children can find nothing more intellectual or more interesting to do than smashing windows and suchlike. There will be the strictest possible application of the article "Breaches of National and Racial Equality" in the USSR and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium decree "On the Introduction of Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law 'On Criminal Liability for State Crimes' and to Certain Other USSR Legislative Acts," which states bluntly: "Deliberate actions aimed at inciting national or racial enmity or dissension, at denigrating national honor and dignity... are punishable by deprivation of freedom for a period of up to 3 years or a fine of up to R2,000." Here is something to be pondered by parents whose sons can take the liberty of engaging in such far-from-inoffensive "pranks."

Esteemed comrades! We are confident that the republic's multinational population will be able to distinguish between truth and demagoguery, between truth and lies, between sundry instigators and the genuine fighters for restructuring, and will manage to duly rebuff all who find the changes not to their liking. Addressing the representatives of all nationalities without exception, I wish to emphasize the special responsibility borne in these circumstances by the Turkmen people, the republic's indigenous residents. A great deal depends on your stance, dear fellow countrymen. We have always been distinguished by restraint and calm, intolerance of falsehood, respect for others, and readiness to help. We have no right to change a historical tradition. And it is well known that a good example multiplies a hundredfold.

In conclusion let me cite a proverb: "All who sail in the same ship share the same fate." History found it convenient to decree that we all—peoples of the world's first socialist state—sail in the same ship. And let me add this—following the same course. The course of renewal, the course of cleansing socialism of accretions and deformations. We will not allow anyone to divert our ship from its course or to delay its passage by even a single instant.

Kirghiz Leaders Meet With Student Aktiv

PM2505110189 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 13 May 89 p 1

[KIRTAG report: "Meeting With Young Students"]

[Text] Urgent problems to do with improving specialists' training and boosting young students' activeness in public life and involvement in restructuring were discussed

at a meeting between A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, and the university student aktiv, which was held 11 May at the Kirghiz State University named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR. Leaders of a number of republic ministries, the Kirghiz Trade Union Council, and the Kirghiz V.I. Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee took part in the meeting.

Opening the meeting, U.A. Asanov, rector of the university, stressed that meetings between members of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and students have recently assumed a constant character and are providing a good boost to work and helping shape young people's civic stance and resolve many social and domestic questions more promptly.

A.M. Masaliyev spoke to the gathering.

Soviet young people, he said, bear supreme responsibility for continuing the cause espoused by the older generations of Soviet people and for taking an active part in restructuring. The future is in many respects determined by the kind of young people that are being raised today. The future of society is in the hands of people to whom we are leaving our accomplishments, and young people must display a great sense of responsibility for the state of affairs in society and really assert themselves through great actions.

Good conditions have now been created for the development of civic independence and the emergence of active individuals. Amid the atmosphere of openness, glasnost, and broadening democratization, students' creativity and initiative are developing, self-management in higher educational establishments is improving, and young people are entering independent life with increasing confidence.

Our students are distinguished by their broad outlook, their erudition, and their energy. They represent an active social force and are seeking an opportunity to show themselves in all spheres of our life—and this endeavor must be supported in every possible way.

At the same time you can also hear people opining that nothing has been achieved in 4 years of restructuring. I cannot agree with that. Of course, renewal is difficult and complex, but restructuring is gaining momentum. In this connection Comrade Masaliyev dwelt on the changes being carried out in the republic and shared his impressions of his visit to university student hostels, educational buildings, canteens, and snack bars.

At the January meeting between members of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the Frunze City student aktiv aggrieved and indignant students talked about unpalatable dinners and the "poor" canteen fare. The appropriate services were tasked with restoring order then. According to teachers and students, the university canteens have changed for the better now: There is a varied choice of dishes and good-quality food preparation.

The university's student medical center, which is operational the whole year around, has been splendidly equipped. After classes students enjoy rest facilities here and undergo treatment. The list of services provided is expanding—for instance, a mud-therapy unit is soon to enter into operation. The cost of a 24-day pass is R15.30.

Such positive changes can be seen in various corners of the republic. A great deal is being done by people themselves, who increasingly fully feel themselves to be the real masters of society, and Lyaylyakskiy Rayon's experience of constructing sociocultural facilities using the own-construction method is being widely disseminated.

There was talk at the meeting of the immediate tasks of restructuring that must be resolved in the immediate future. These include improving the population's food supply and providing citizens with housing and various consumer goods—young people should take a most active part in these important matters. Komsomol organizations' activity must be substantially animated. It is the Komsomol's task to take charge of all educative work among young students—and this should not be farmed out to informal organizations, which often put forward slogans in contravention of the principles of socialist society.

Unfortunately, some young people allow themselves to be won over by demagogic phraseology and nationalist or chauvinist appeals. At times rogues and demagogues exert influence on young people. Their provocations must be exposed and a resolute battle waged against extremist elements. Here students from Kirghiz State University—the flagship of the republic's higher educational establishments—must set an example of cohesion and good organization and actively oppose any attempts to violate public interests.

Democracy has nothing in common with anarchy—the opposite of society's established laws and procedures. In the interests of restructuring and of developing democracy we must under no circumstances allow the democratization of public processes to be used against our constitutional system. This was said very definitely at the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum. Given the rapid upsurge in the people's consciousness and sociopolitical activeness, higher educational institution [VUZ] Komsomol activists should ardently propagandize the decisions of the plenum which gave a new boost to restructuring and the activation of party life.

Matters of developing interethnic relations at the contemporary stage of inculcating socialist internationalism held an important place at the meeting. The need to pool efforts via specific actions and strengthen friendship

between all the country's peoples was mentioned. Special attention was devoted to issues of the development of bilingualism. Most favorable conditions must be created for the development of both the Kirghiz and Russian languages and also the languages of other nations and ethnic groups living in Soviet Kirghizia. The republic's higher and secondary specialized educational establishments must apply great efforts to resolving this problem. That is how this matter must be handled in order to produce a perceptible result.

The university rectorate and the heads of dean's offices and departments must pay particular attention to raising the quality of the subjects taught and improving the education and instruction process. The republic must obtain good well-qualified cadres who will be capable of solving the tasks that crop up every year.

In conclusion A.M. Masaliyev expressed confidence that in the future also the republic's young people will take an active part in restructuring with a sense of great responsibility.

The university students who spoke at the meeting talked about most varied problems in their lives. Frankly and without avoiding controversy, they raised issues of improving the education and instruction process and resolving social and domestic problems, and they voiced opinions as to how to tap young specialists' creative potential to greater effect in the interests of renewing public life.

The common opinion was voiced that the meetings between Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Bureau members and young students are of great benefit and make it possible to gain a better knowledge of and to consider students' interests and needs, and also have a positive effect on shaping young people's civic stance.

M.Sh. Sherimkulov, secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the meeting.

Komsomol Holds Central Committee Plenum 19 May

Chebrikov Addresses Session

LD1905222789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A routine plenum of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee took place in Moscow today.

USSR people's deputies from the Komsomol were taking part in the work of the plenum for the first time. Among the numerous issues that were to be examined was the discussion of the draft law on young people and the state's youth policy in the USSR. This draft has been worked on for a year by young lawyers, sociologists, and economists. The draft was then discussed in the Komsomol organization. More than 1,000 comments and proposals have been voiced. Most of them have been taken into account in the new edition of the draft. This is the third attempt to create a law on young people. The first two fell through, and even this time those working it out came up against incomprehension and even resistance, particularly among the adult population. The discussion of the draft at today's plenum was rather heated. [passage omitted]

Having carefully weighed all the pros and cons, the plenum adopted a decision to submit the draft law for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet and for nationwide discussion. A decision was also adopted on holding a plenum of the Komsomol Central Committee this July, at which there will be a discussion of the state of affairs in the Komsomol, and proposals on a changes to the statutes, the drawing up of a Komsomol program, and on the the convening of a 21st Komsomol Congress. Comrade Chebrikov took part in the work of the plenum.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 19 May, in a similar report, adds the following: "Comrade Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the plenum. The plenum will continue its work on 20 May."]

Supreme Soviet Crime Decree Opposed

LD2005194389 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] A full-scale meeting of the Central C mmittee of the Young Communist League has discussed a number of issues related to the further democratization of all spheres of the league's activity. It also called for suspending one of the articles of a decree recently introduced by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet which contains a new interpretation of crimes against the state entailing top punishment. That article came under plenty of fire from the public and many lawyers who argue that its ambiguous wording may be used to impose restrictions on glasnost. The meeting asked the members of parliament elected by the Young Communist League, a massive youth organization in this country, to oppose that article at the Congress of People's Deputies.

Plenum Agenda Detailed

PM2205135389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Seventh All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee Plenum: Draft Law Receives Support"]

[Text] The Seventh All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee Plenum began work in Moscow yesterday.

The following questions were submitted for the plenum's examination:

1. On the draft USSR law "On young people and state youth policy in the USSR."

2. On the plan for the renewal of the activity of the All-Union Pioneers' Organization named for V.I. Lenin.

3. Organizational questions.

A report on the first question was delivered by V. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

Taking part in the debate were: V. Miroshnichenko, second secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee; A. Aleynikov, second secretary of the Leningrad Komsomol city committee [gorkom]; S. Kuznetsov, first secretary of the Tomsk Komsomol oblast committee [obkom]; A. Oskin, secretary at the USSR Embassy in Poland; S. Rogozhkin, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; O. Zhuravlev, assistant chief of Komsomol work of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] internal troops political department for the Northwest and the Baltic region; N. Liventsev, second secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee; V. Minin, USSR people's deputy for the Komsomol; A. Akhaladze, secretary of the Rustavi metallurgical plant open-hearth mill Komsomol committee; I. Golovanova, typist at the "Trud" plant in Novosibirsk; G. Kudiy, secretary at the USSR embassy in the CSSR; V. Daurechenskikh, assistant chief of Komsomol work of the Air Defense Forces political directorate; Ye. Korolev, director of the NPTs [expansion unknown] for social technology from Sverdlovsk city; V. Lukov, member of the VMTK [expansion unknown] for preparing the law on young people; V. Kopyev, first secretary of the Moscow Komsomol gorkom; S. Gogiberidze, first secretary of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee; A. Burakov, first secretary of the Slavutich Komsomol gorkom; A. Khadikov, first secretary of the North Osetian Komsomol Obkom; V. Galayda, first secretary of the Kamchatka Komsomol obkom; D. Pollyyeva, leader of the VMTK for preparing the law on young people; A. Tsigelnikov, USSR people's deputy for the Komsomol; I. Lulyanova, lecturer in the Moscow State University law department; N. Sharov, second secretary of the Estonian Komsomol Central Committee; Z. Apresyan, chief editor of the journal MOLODOY KOMMUNIST; and S. Kondybayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee.

V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressed the plenum.

The plenum adopted the resolutions "On the USSR draft law "On young people and state youth policy in the USSR" and "On the preparation of amendments to the Komsomol Rules and the elaboration of the Komsomol Program."

V.V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department; Yu.G. Oshlakov, V.A. Nikitin, and A.P. Piskunov, responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee; and A.A. Likhanov, chairman of the board of the V.I. Lenin Soviet children's fund, are taking part in the plenum's work.

Those invited to the plenum included USSR people's deputies elected on behalf of the Komsomol and some deputies elected from territorial and national-territorial okrugs who expressed a desire to take part in the discussion of the questions submitted to the plenum.

Plenum participants also include the first and second secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees, first secretaries of Komsomol kray committees and obkoms, members of the Bureau of the Central Council of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Pioneers' organization, assistant chiefs of Komsomol work of the political directorates and departments of branches and categories of the Armed Forces, districts, and groups of forces and fleets, full-time secretaries of Komsomol committees at Soviet establishments abroad, USSR embassy secretaries responsible for links with youth organizations in other countries, and leaders of Komsomol Central Committee departments and subsections, of the youth-oriented central mass media, and social formations under the Komsomol Central Committee who are not members of central elected organs.

The plenum will continue work today.

Nikitin Delivers Reports

PM2305101789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Seventh Komsomol Central Committee Plenum: Pioneers Await Changes"]

[Text] The Seventh All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee Plenum continued 20 May 1989.

A report on the question "On the Plan To Renew the Activity of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization" was delivered by I. Nikitin, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee and chairman of the All-Union Pioneer Organization Central Council.

The plenum examined the question of Komsomol Central Committee commissions. The following commissions were set up: a planning commission, a finance and budget commission, a young people's socioeconomic problems commission, a special commission, a commission for the Komsomol's international relations, and an ecological commission.

The plenum was addressed by Ye. Korolev, director of an NPTs [expansion unknown] for Social Technology, Sverdlovsk City; N. Yashkin, first secretary of Tyumen Komsomol Oblast Party Committee [obkom]; I. Pavlov,

Komsomol Committee secretary at the V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Combine in Magnitogorsk; Ye. Rogovskiy, first secretary of Altay Komsomol Kray Committee [kraykom]; K. Zazirniy, first secretary of Krasnodar Komsomol Kraykom; L. Kasayev, first secretary of Chechen-Ingush Komsomol Obkom; A. Tudvasev, political chief at a Kamchatka Border Detachment military unit; N. Omarov, first secretary of Semipalatinsk Kazakh Komsomol Obkom; V. Trifonov, first secretary of Komi Komsomol Obkom; T. Novikova, first secretary of Kemerovo Komsomol Obkom; I. Ordzhonikidze, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; V. Butko, first secretary of Donetsk Ukrainian Komsomol Obkom; N. Liventsev, second secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee; S. Yepifantsev, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; G. Golovachev, rector of the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School; S. Rogozhkin, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; A. Matsaytis, first secretary of the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee; and S. Tsyplyayev, USSR people's deputy on behalf of the Komsomol.

It was decided to publish the speeches at the plenum in full.

Medvedev Attends Soiree for Uzbek Writer

LD2505012889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1602 GMT 24 May 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 24 May (TASS)—A soiree was held here today devoted to the 100th anniversary of the birth of Khamza Khakim-Zade Niyazi, founder of Uzbek Soviet literature. [passage omitted]

The soiree was attended by Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; representatives of party, local soviet, and public organizations; and a delegation from Uzbekistan.

Ryzhkov Discusses Economy, Role of Unions

LD2005184489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 20 May 89

[Report by correspondent (Olga Vitisova)]

[Text] Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met with the country's leading trade union officials at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

In his speech, Ryzhkov analyzed the country's topical social and economic problems and noted that solving them is made easier when the people exhibit a high level of political awareness, something which is coming through strikingly at this time, on the eve of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Particular attention was devoted to the practical implementation of economic reforms, to changes in the structure of managing the national economy, and to the democratization of economic life. Ryzhkov, dwelling in detail on the key factors in the restructuring of the economy, stressed that in the course of working out and implementing the reform, healthy foundations are being built for the effective development of the national economy.

Ways of strengthening the economic reform and improving the state of finances, of developing new forms for running the economy and of saturating the consumer market were thoroughly examined at the meeting. On this level, the national government constantly aims to secure conformity in the growth of the population's wages and incomes with the production of output and labor productivity, which will enable the population's purchasing power for goods and services to be satisfied.

Speaking of the people's standard of living, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov stressed that the USSR Council of Ministers in its practical activity constantly pursues a policy aimed at strengthening the social thrust of the economy. One of the paramount tasks in this regard lies in improving the material position of low-income sections of the population, especially of retired persons. A draft law on retirement provisions for the workers is currently being completed. Great significance was attached in the conversation to matters relating to strengthening discipline and order in the national economy as a necessary condition for its stable and dynamic development. In conclusion, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov noted that the changes under way in society have opened up broad possibilities for the trade unions to actively pursue a social policy, to take part in renovating the economy, and to vigorously defend the interests of the workers.

Anti-Alcoholism Campaign Not Yet Successful

PM2505150189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Yu. Rytov article: "Statistics and Our Commentary: Report on Vodka"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that in the years 1985-88 consumption of industrially produced alcohol (in terms of pure alcohol) fell 2.3 times and totalled 3.6 liters per capita.

In particular, sales of vodka and vodka liqueurs and of wine amounted to 47 percent of the 1984 level; champagne, 87 percent; and beer 84, percent.

Impressive figures, are they not? Unfortunately, we should not labor under any delusions about them. For everyone knows that spirit production has switched from the state to the private sector and that a vast number of people have become involved in moonshine production not only for personal consumption, but also for sale. Money that has stopped entering the budget has lined the pockets of the clandestine operators. Speculation in spirits has also developed on an incredible scale.

Here are a few facts. According to rough estimates, 120 million decaliters of hooch were produced last year. Administrative proceedings have been instigated against 414,000 clandestine producers of spirits, public action has been taken against 9,700 people, and criminal punishment has been handed out to 13,000 people. Some 325,000 hooch kits and approximately 4 million liters of home-distilled spirits have been confiscated (This represents 300-percent and 120-percent increases over the 1986 level respectively.) The number of people brought to account for obtaining hooch has increased: In particular, 126,00 people have been fined (the figure was 70,000 in 1986.)

The total number of people violating the anti-alcohol legislation has seen practically no change and exceeds 10 million people a year. The number of people who have committed crimes while drunk has risen from 371,000 in 1987 to 379,000 in 1988. Including minors, the number has risen from 20,500 to 25,600 (25 percent.) The frequency of crimes committed through drunkenness exceeds the national average in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], and the Baltic republics.

One cannot fail to note another sorry fact. Intentionally or not, the reduction in the production and sale of spirits and the rise in the price of these products has promoted the development of drug and toxic substance addiction. Whereas in 1984 approximately 14 patients diagnosed as "drug addicts and toxic substance addicts" were registered at medical establishments (per 100 inhabitants), in 1988 this figure rose to 25. (The figures for patients diagnosed as "alcoholics and alcoholic psychotics" are 1,560 and 1,595 people respectively.)

What do these figures indicate?

Undoubtedly, that the attempt to put an end to alcoholism at one stroke by harsh administrative measures has—alas—not been successful. The state has suffered vast economic damage. The statistical report for this couches it coyly in the following terms: "The population now has R49 billion at its disposal as a result of the reduction in the sale of alcohol."

At its disposal? Absolutely not; a considerable proportion of this sum, as we have seen for ourselves, has moved into the hands of shady operators and speculators. This money, which is not counterbalanced by other commodities, has lain and is lying heavily on the consumer market, devaluing the ruble and fueling inflation.

Certainly, it has not proven possible to make good the reduction in the production and sale of alcohol with other types of commodities. In the last 3 years alone trade outlets have had a shortfall of R40 billion worth of consumer goods envisaged by plan calculations. Actual Paid services have been R5.6 billion less than planned.

Compare these figures, esteemed readers—R49 billion and R45.6 billion—and you will easily see that the "booze billions" have simply remained untapped. The imbalance between the population's monetary income and expenditures has increased drastically.

As is well known, the procedure for trading in alcohol in state stores has now changed substantially. The number of such stores has also increased. Thus, in the first quarter of this year sales of wines, vodkas, and beer rose 35 percent compared to the same period last year.

Does this mean that ths struggle against alcoholism is gradually slackening off? Of course not. That would be immoral from all viewpoints. More than 20,000 people died in 1987 solely through causes directly linked to alcohol. The damage done to the country's economy in connection with drunkenness is estimated at R14-19 billion. Approximately R1 billion is spent each year in the USSR on the treatment of alcoholism.

No, the struggle is continuing—using other methods and means.

I think education measures should take center stage. That is a common task for all party, V.I. Lenin All-Union Communist Youth League, and public organizations, including the Temperance Society.

Second, medical and preventive measures. Unfortunately we do not as yet have the requisite medical base for that. Admittedly, the number of drug clinics has risen considerably over the last few years (in 1984 there were 153 and at the beginning of 1988 this figure had risen to more than 500). However, the number of hospital beds for drug patients is 8 percent below the norm for the country as a whole, and in Estonia, Uzbekistan, and Tajikstan this figure is 22-23 percent. The network of economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] drug outpatient clinics and centers where patients can receive treatment in complete anonymity is developing poorly. By early 1988 there were only 9 economically accountable outpatient clinics; 49 drug establishments had economically accountable consulting rooms; and 235 hospitals and polyclinics had centers providing patients with treatment in complete anonymity.

Life has now raised a multitude of most important tasks in all spheres—political, economic, and social. Many of them have proven to be considerably more complex than previously imagined. All the same, they must be resolved. There is no going back!

More Measures Needed To Decontaminate Bryansk

PM2505102789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 May 89 First Edition p 2

[TASS correspondent Yu. Lodkin report: "To Hasten Protection Work"]

[Text] Bryansk Oblast—On 23 April SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published the article "After the Storm," telling of the situation in a number of Bryansk Oblast rayons

subjected to radioactive contamination as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station [AES]. Soon afterward F.A. Tabeyev, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic commission for eliminating the aftermath of accidents, disasters, and natural calamities, went there.

The news of his arrival flew instantly around the village of Zaborye, and he at once found himself surrounded by people.

"What is the point in living as we do here?" N. Ivankova, a former teacher and now a pensioner, complained. "We must not keep livestock. We must not work on our private plot. We must not let our children out into the street. Is this living? We are now simply parasites on the state. Our sole concern is getting to the store for 'clean food.'"

The people of Zaborye spoke with particular anxiety about the children, who, under conditions of the increased background gamma radiation, cannot engage in physical culture in the open air or work on the school plot or in the pupils' production team. People vied with one another to ask pointed, anxious questions: Why here, where it is particularly essential to observe strict hygiene requirements, is it impossible to buy detergents, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, or refrigerators? Why is the republic's aid to the disaster region diminishing? Who will be answerabe for the health of the children, particularly preschool-age children, who do not travel outside the rayon in the summertime to improve their health?

And, finally, the hardest question: Will the village be moved to clean territory? And if so, why only 3 years after the Chernobyl accident? Has the radioactive situation really deteriorated during this time? It was answered by A. Voystrochenko, first secretary of Bryansk Oblast party committee [obkom].

"Our science proved unprepared for the Chernobyl tragedy," he said, "and scientists still do not have a single viewpoint on the long-term consequences of the impact of low doses of radiation on people. It is possible now to say just one thing: Not one case of illness caused by radiation has yet been recorded. Thanks to the decontamination work carried out over 3 years, the level of radioactivity in the zone of 'rigorous monitoring' has dropped significantly. But not enough to totally remove the concern for the health of people living here. And so all measures must be taken to ensure the population's safety. The country's government has been faced with the question of resettling the residents of 11 hamlets and villages in the oblast. It is possible that another nine will be added to them—this will be decided as a result of additional radiological screening."

The discussion which began in the villages was continued at a session of the party obkom bureau. This acknowledged as correct the way questions were formulated in the article "After the Storm," pointed to people's growing concern for their future, and discussed the problem of eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident on Bryansk Oblast territory.

The activity of the RSFSR Ministry of Health has been an example to many ministries and departments. Since 1986 the population on the polluted territories has been subjected to clinical examination, a group of leading ministry specialists has been working constantly, and three consultation and diagnosis centers have been organized. Over the past 3 years the oblast has been allocated additional medical equipment to the tune of more than R4 million.

"We intend to increase our aid to Bryansk Oblast," A. Potapov, the republic's health minister, said on addressing the obkom bureau. "Equipment worth another R900,000 will be allocated this year, and the number of graduates of higher medical educational institutions sent to the oblast will be increased. Places in leading Moscow and Leningrad clinics have been set aside for inhabitants of Bryansk Oblast's contaminated rayons. An endocrinological clinic will be opened in the city of Novozybkov before the end of this year."

But there are also facts of a different kind. In the space of 3 years radiological monitoring has brought to light another 60 centers whose population should not consume products from their own farmsteads. But republic organs disregard this circumstance. What is more, the funds allocated for "clean" meat have been reduced appreciably.

Practice has shown that dust suppression work must be carried out in the contamination zone. Spreading clean earth on roads has only a short-term effect, and only asphalting can achieve a stable lowering of the background gamma radiation level. But western rayons are receiving extremely little of the bitumen and crushed stone that they need for this.

The USSR Defense Ministry's stand is also characteristic. The oblast has asked the country's government to send civil defense subunits here to carry out engineering decontamination work. The request was forwarded to the Defense Ministry. And what has happened? Subunits are being formed which will be manned almost entirely and provided with two-thirds of their equipment at the expense of Bryansk Oblast itself.

There were also serious complaints against trade unions, which, as many speakers emphasized, have gotten out of organizing health-improving measures for preschool-age children and cut the allocation of travel passes for residents of the contaminated rayons to young pioneer camps, rest homes, and sanatoriums outside the oblast.

The party obkom bureau suggested that the RSFSR Council of Ministers draw up a long-term republic-wide program of special socioeconomic development for the Bryansk Oblast rayons subjected to radioactive contamination as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

It is planned to implement a package of measures in the sphere of health care, to improve the supply of "clean" food to the population, to ensure more rigorous radiological monitoring, and to increase the scale of engineering and agrochemical decontamination in population centers, on collective and state farm agricultural land, and on private plots.

The obkom bureau asked leading union and republic organs to specify before August of this year a list of population centers where the implementation of protective measures is failing to ensure the prescribed limit for individual doses of radiation and, on this basis, to adopt a decision to resettle people.

Glasnost Not To Blame For Goods Shortages

PM2505142589 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian
No 20, 15-21 May 89 (Signed to Press 17 May 89) p 4

[Anatoliy Druzenko article under the rubric "Publicist's Remarks": "Glasnost and Softsoap"]

[Text] We have hardly blinked an eyelid, and restructuring is ALREADY 4 years old. Actually, this can be put another way: ONLY 4 years have passed, and look how many changes there have been!

But what if the exclamation mark were replaced by a question mark? Really, how many? Changes?

Not all that long ago the highly observant and troublesome "Vzglyad" [outlook] program publicized a subject which, I think, gave the millions of television viewers quite a few false (and not so false) impressions. Apparently, volumes have already been written about the epoch of stagnation and its leader who was remarkable in many respects, but nonetheless there are apparently people—and people of the most energetic, active, and promising age at that—who have set up something akin to a Leonid Ilich Brezhnev fan club. I personally am absolutely unperturbed by this fact: If we are to have pluralism, then let's have pluralism (even though I suspect that such a club could perfectly well have emerged not so much out of adoration for the hero of Malaya Zemlya, as out of "spite" for the gigantic mass of published material debunking the former head of the party and the state, debunking him belatedly and perhaps as unanimously as they styled him an eminent Leninist leader just a few years ago).

Good luck to it, this club! If it wants to perceive Leonid Ilich as a brilliant personality—let it. I would even like to express thanks to those fans of our recent past of developed socialism because, having come out in the open, they have involuntarily suggested a way in which, in my view, we can get a much better impression of the scale and nature of the changes which have taken place in our life during the 4 years of restructuring.

Let us try imaging "the reverse." Let us imagine what our life would have been like had the vote gone the other way 4 years ago and someone from among the loyal Brezhnevites had ended up at the helm of the party and the state. Like Viktor Vasilyevich G-n [Grishin], says.

...We would have had elections. And all the newspapers, as if following orders (but why "as if"—simply following orders), would have written that the brilliant and, naturally, meaningful election campaign speech by the general secretary and the directives and conclusions stemming from it had encountered unanimous approval among the whole Soviet people.

We would have elected one deputy from among one candidate.

The turnout, according to Central Electoral Commission data, would have been 99.98 percent of voters. Votes for the unbreakable bloc of Communists and nonparty people would have been cast by between 99.93 percent (Estonia) and 99.99 percent (the Ukraine) of voters.

We would not have found out about the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. Unless we were to hear it from the notorious "voices" (jammed, of course).

We would not have read Grossman's "Life and Fate," we would not have seen Abuladze's "Repentance." But NOVYY MIR would have published, under the headline "Junction," Viktor Vasilyevich G-n's memoirs about his wartime activities as party committee secretary at a railroad junction. The memoirs would have made it clear to us all that the remarkable toilers on the steel highways made the decisive contribution to victory. The "Junction," perfectly obviously, would have been awarded the Lenin Prize, while its discussion in labor collectives and primary party organizations would have evolved into a demonstration of the unbreakable....

All movie theaters in the country would have screened the documentary-feature-current affairs movie "Our Vasilyevich." Its makers, of course, would also have been awarded the Lenin Prize (and maybe the State Prize as well, to go with it).

Imagine all the things to which we are no longer accustomed? The things we have left behind?

...Waiting in lines, crowding the buses, jumping over potholes in the sidewalks, Muscovites would have continued living in a model Communist city.

The 12th 5-Year Plan would have been proclaimed the 5-Year Plan of even higher quality.

Competition would have spread beneath the slogan "Laggards, Forward!"

Uzbekistan would have given the country yet another 1 million tonnes of raw cotton in excess of plan.

Our guys would still have been fighting in Afghanistan.

Academician Sakharov would still have been living in Gorkiy.

On the occasion of his 75th birthday and following a proposal by veteran railmen, V.V. G-n would have been honored by his.... (here we must calculate, he already had two, then one every following year which makes another four)... sixth Hero of Labor Star....

Does this give a clearer idea of what we have left behind? But now another—and more serious—question: What have we arrived at?

Here we need neither imagination nor fantasy. Everything is clearly visible with the naked eye.

We have arrived at store shelves which are getting emptier and waiting lines which are getting longer; at frightening inflation; at social upheavals, about which we used to read exclusively under the "Their Morals" rubric in the past. At a sense of instability. At interethnic contradictions which apparently do exist. At tragedies occurring in full view of people in their thousands. At mass irritation which can be expressed by the typical question: "Nothing but words and more words, where are the deeds?" And even if some deeds have been accomplished and life in places is changing for the better, these changes are, alas, not so tangible as to have any effect on mental attitudes.

"But has life not deteriorated?"—this is yet another "commonplace" question charged, it seems to me, with the explosive dramatism of the current stage of restructuring. Because somebody somewhere is already slipping among the masses the kernel of an idea that democracy might be to blame for our economic, social, and daily life plight: Look, it is said, how far this flirtation with freedoms has taken us—we're holding rallies but there's not a bite to eat!

A conclusion that is most dangerous for the fate of restructuring. And it sounds so plausible! There's glasnost, but there's no soap.

Even though glasnost (obviously) is not to blame for the fact that our economic mechanism is getting more decrepit with each passing day. The causes of acute shortages in our daily life are to be sought not in democratization but in the most rigid resistance by the administrative system which refuses to accept restructuring. It is deep inside this system rather than in the "holding of rallies" that we should look for the roots of gross shortages, inflation, mass irritation, and the widening gap between us and the world's developed countries.

Whoever fails to realize this begins to perceive a way out by means of a "tough" hand imposing "order." It is, however, the pinnacle of naivety to hope that toughness [zhestkost] turning into brutality [zhestokost] will fill the store shelves or that the restoration of "order" will make life better, will make life merrier. Life will become better only if we are bolder in the implementation of reforms, without being cautious and afraid of their negative consequences, if we are more decisive and more persistent in further deepening the restructuring of our life, our economy, our daily life, and our awareness.

I am convinced that there is nowhere for us to retreat—behind us there is nothing but stagnation.

Writers Earn Little; State Gets Profits

18001067 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 20, 20-26 May 89 p 7

[Interview with Valentin Ustinov, poet, secretary of the board of the Moscow organization of the Union of Writers, by Aleksandr Medvedev, poet, member of the Union of Writers: "Discussion by Poets of Prosaic Life"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] *Readers have always been interested in the "creative kitchen" of literary people. But few know about how writers live and how they are paid, although there are many legends and rumors concerning this. All these "ticklish" problems are discussed by Aleksandr Medvedev, a poet and a member of the Union of Writers, and Valentin Ustinov, a poet and secretary of the board of the Moscow organization of the Union of Writers.*

[Medvedev] A questionnaire was recently circulated among members of the Moscow writers' organization and a report was drawn up on the basis of it—a kind of social portrait of the writer. When you become familiar with these materials here is what you think about: Not only the reading public but also we, the literary people, sometimes have an incorrect idea of the social and material position of the "man of letters." The inadequate information and the inclination to transform rumors and conjecture into legends—all this has impeded and still does impede our view of objective reality.

Of course we must say something about honorariums, but first I think it would be useful to approach the subject of finances from the other side: How much do writers earn for the treasury? Rather, how profitable is book publishing?

[Ustinov] The precise figures are not known yet. Speaking at the Central House of Writers, M. Nenashev, who was until recently the chairman of the USSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade], reported that publishing brings the state from R700 to 800 million in net profit annually. And this is not counting the publishing houses under the jurisdiction of other departments. But the writer, i.e. the person who creates the spiritual values and whose labor is simultaneously the source of material profit, in the eyes of many is outside the sphere of production. It turns out that the concrete commodity, the book, is produced by publishers, paper workers, and printers. And the writer is assigned the flattering role of creator of spiritual values, but it is as though his work is broken off from the technological chain. The income is received by the printing industry, the book trade, and state publishing houses. The author, of course, is paid an honorarium—but in comparison to the years of work on the manuscript, it is so modest that if the writer were engaged in cooperative production, for example of note pads, his share would be much greater.

[Medvedev] If one were to regard literature as a kind of industry engaged in the production of manuscripts, here, in addition to everything else, a number of problems of a purely material nature would arise. In our house organ, MOSKOVSKIY LITERATOR (1989, No 6), in an article by the chairman of the inspection commission of the Moscow writers' organization, V. Marchenko, the expression "creative kitchen" acquires literal significance. "Of the 67 percent of Moscow writers who are the 'lucky ones' living in their own apartments, 45 percent have a separate office to work in. Another 24 percent have their own desks, and 31 percent do not even have their own table, and rent a kitchen or dining room table from a family...." An original form of rental, is it not?

[Ustinov] It is not easy to speak about the housing problem of writers; it is even embarrassing since millions of people throughout the country still live in barracks and dormitories. But still it is necessary to speak about this problem. With respect to writers there is one aspect of this problem about which many do not know and others, those who are responsible for the distribution of housing, deliberately "forget." The fact is that for a writer an apartment is not simply a place to live; it is his work place—just as a shop or a construction site is for a worker or a laboratory is for a scientist. Writing is advantageous and profitable for the society, and it is also simply necessary. And it is necessary to be concerned about supporting it.

Incidentally, there exists a decree concerning allotting a member of the Union of Writers an additional 20 square meters for his office. For the past couple of years the Moscow soviet has not been fulfilling this decree. We receive information from various cities in the country that the situation is no better there. So as long as the kitchen is free during the night, the majority of writers use it for their office.

[Medvedev] Only a person who has considerable creative baggage can be a member of the Union of Writers . As a rule, this takes decades. Where and how does a young writer work, someone who is not a member of the Union of Writers (young frequently means under 50 years of age)? If he works in the kitchen, this is still good. But some have to work on a bench in the railroad station as I did at the beginning of the 1970's, or in the political indoctrination room in the dormitory at night next to the warm side of the water boiler, or in a guard booth....

[Ustinov] At writers' plenums various figures have been given for the monthly income of the "average statistical" writer—from R70 to R170. I think the real figure is somewhere in between. In any case our average income is lower than the generally accepted minimum. Let this information not discourage those who because of a lack of information are deluded in making an evaluation of the writer's income. Yes, there are also millionaires. But only a few. And the majority of us live quite modestly. And, believe me, there is not a strict correlation between the level of talent and the level of income—the person with real talent is most often modest, he works hard without striving for a large material abundance.

[Medvedev] There can be extremely high incomes only if the author is frequently republished. Now a good deal is being written and said about the immoderate appetites of certain writers when it comes to republication. But here is what is interesting. There are writers whom nobody would even think of reproaching for their many printings or their large honorariums, which are just as high as their moral authority in the society. For example, even those who polemicize with V. Astafyev on a number of issues do not reproach him for the fact that he publishes frequently and in large editions. Incidentally, V. Astafyev spends a considerable share of his honorariums on building up one of the children's homes in his native area of Krasnoyarsk Kray. Few people know about this. Many other independent writers do similar things.

Economic

Economic Decentralization Issues Weighed

PM2505132789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Candidate of economic sciences S. Dimanis article: "Regional Economic Accountability: The Day After"]

[Text] Riga—**The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on the draft General Principles for Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and Social Sphere in Union Republics on the Basis of Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing produced heated debates, and not just among specialists in the sphere of economics and management. This subject provided a topic for discussions in republic governments and supreme soviets and in public organizations. The most**

diverse ideas and proposals, sharp and at times contradictory, are put forward during the debates at different levels. It is very important to ensure that these arguments really produce the truth, that they result in finding a genuinely mutually acceptable solution.

Gone are the times when the republics unquestioningly obeyed the center's political and economic will. Obedience has been replaced by obstinacy, there are active discussions on what life should be like tomorrow and later, opinions are expressed about leaders at central and local level. Attention has shifted from the motherland's vast spaces to the area within national borders. There is a growing awareness that it is impossible to work half as much and earn twice as much, or to be more precise, it is impossible for everyone simultaneously to achieve that. Everyone wants to be his own master and to enjoy benefits whose magnitude is directly proportional to the production results achieved in the republic's territory. There are also signs of initial attempts to distinguish between the possible and the desirable.

But opportunities for economic self-management have proved to be extremely insignificant. The republics have lost their own economies, and have lost them completely. There is virtually no place left in their territories which has not been crudely trampled by some union department's administrative boot. The republic centers of economic power are just an outward and visible token of a statehood which no longer exists.

Is it therefore any wonder that, as a result of the continuous dominance by the center's authoritarian will, separatist moods are breaking off the radical wings of people's fronts in the Baltic republics, or that movements for national independence—early political fruit with a clearly extremist flavor—are emerging.

Something else is amazing today: The extent to which the main danger threatening the union was clearly identified at the 12th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress, held soon after the proclamation of the USSR. It was written in the congress resolution that "the Union of Republics is perceived **by a sizeable proportion of Soviet functionaries at central and local level** not as a union of equal state units destined to ensure the free development of national republics, but as a step toward the liquidation of these republics...."

Turning back to our present, the ideas of economic exclusiveness expressed by radical forces in the Baltic republics are not the result of economic analysis but parts of economic mythology. The essence of this mythology boils down to this argument: "We don't know how we'll manage without you but we'll try, come next Monday." Because the relevant economic computations are not too convincing, they are reinforced by publicity. All according to the principle that the worse the soup is, the more pleasant the waiters should be. Generous promises are made to catch up with West Europe within 10 years.

It is hard to tell what will happen in 10 years' time. We have repeatedly found ourselves in a state of total ignorance when trying to look beyond the horizon. But even so, what will happen on the day after everybody slams the door in the others' faces?

For many years now economic science has been demonstrating how bad it is when national exclusiveness flourishes, and how good it is when there is an economic rapprochement of peoples. But in order for peoples to really unite they must have not only a shared economy but also shared economic interests. After all, there are different ways to unite the republics' economies in a single whole. It may even happen that some decisions by the center which may be tolerable from a nationwide point of view would be blocked by the multiplicity of local interests pulling in different directions.

Unity under capitalism arises from the natural connection provided by exchange. The role of integrator is played by the world market, by the freedom to buy whatever is necessary and to sell whatever has been made, which hinders monopolies and decay [zagnivaniye] under a relatively restricted national market.

In contrast with the Western countries, the economies of our republics were integrated in a system where the relations of universal dependence are in the hands of a single manager [rasporyaditel] and a single distributor instead of the market. In this way, dependence spreads along the vertical line of management rather than the horizontal line of economics. Consequently, instead of respect for the economic partner who receives your output or provides your supplies, there emerged a persistent irritation with the union centers of economic power. Especially because the quality of central management deteriorated with each passing year. The system whereby nothing is sold and nothing is bought produced a most complex intertwining of narrowly specialized production units dealing partially and even wholly in physical output, dependent on each other but experiencing nothing but inconvenience thereby.

The economic utopias of national exclusiveness stem from the assumption that republics must start trading with each other and then everything will fall in place. National markets could be protected by political borders or economic barriers taking the form of, for example, a republic's own currency. Those who prefer the softer option suggest the conclusion of interrepublic contracts protecting outlying national regions from the center's voluntarism. In any case, everything is presented more or less along the lines of: You send us a tank of oil, we'll send you a car of meat. In quantities determined in advance and at contract prices.

This deliberate simplification of the model of interrepublic relations pursues a definite goal: To prove that it is possible to run a national economy along fully autonomous lines even when raw materials are lacking, and that in any case it can be run no worse than in West

Europe. If there is something to be sold, crosshauls organized according to the principle of "You send to me, and I'll send to you" will supposedly make everything fall in place. In brief, you end up with interrepublic trade!

This is the sort of autonomy insisted upon by the hottest of heads, at least in the Baltic republics, who wish to take all industry in their own hands.

And one might say: Why not? Just imagine: Republics taking over their own economies by the stroke of a pen, because the process of switching enterprises' subordination presents no complications at all. The local leadership strives to halt the most offensive economic processes and to find ways for efficient utilization of national resources. **But the problem lies somewhere else: Will the enterprises manage to gain economic autonomy in the new conditions?** Because unless they do so, the republics will be the stage for economic processes which would be in no way better than the ones which drove the union economy into a blind alley.

It is promised that enterprises will be given autonomy. Right away, as soon as local organs of economic power are in a position to do so. **And yet the producers' economic autonomy does not depend on someone's good will but actually on the existence of a real market.** Even if we were to assume that regional markets will spring up everywhere, will this provide a sufficient basis for enterprises withdrawing from administrative subordination? It is hardly likely. In W. Leontieff's words, the gentle breeze of regional markets will never fill the sails of economic incentives. The narrowing of the spatial horizon of planning will produce chronic breakdowns in supplies and marketing and will lead to a most serious lapse into physical-economic forms and the transformation of smaller republics into something resembling large farmsteads.

An enterprise which ends up in the hands of a **local** department will stick to the habits developed over decades and will apply for help no longer to the union, but to the republic leadership. In its turn, the republic leadership—being out of touch with suppliers spread all over the union territory—will suggest that the enterprise takes care of itself autonomously, without forgetting to assign it plan prescriptions. Having failed to buy everything necessary in the union market, where only things that no one needs are freely sold, the enterprise will once again start plaguing its new leadership. In the best case, a supplier will be found inside the republic. Orders can be issued to such a supplier. Foreseeing the recurrence of such cases, they will try to delimit the newly emerged internal republican production ties by incorporating them within the little lamented model of **attachment**. A multiplicity of such efforts will produce the republican farmstead.

What is happening now? The economic mechanism is dominated by the principle of centralism. It was this principle that determined the essence of the published draft General Principles for Restructuring the Leadership of the Economy and Social Sphere in Union Republics on the Basis of Expansion of Their Sovereign Rights, Self-Management, and Self-Financing. This draft is actually imbued with a quest for compromise between the union economic center, which regards the national economy from the viewpoint of its own official convenience, and the republic centers which would also like to take the driver's seat. This will not produce any less centralism within the system.

A modern economy must be based not only and not so much on autonomy of regional management organs but on autonomy of enterprises situated in the region's territory. Enterprises will earn money for themselves, and the region will appropriate a proportion of this money for its own needs, preferably in the form of taxes. The same principle could be extended to apply to republics. But in contrast with any other region using autonomy for the purpose of solving mainly social tasks, the republics as state formations must utilize a large number of regional economic regulators governing the activity of enterprises both in the republic market and in the union and external markets. These are primarily differentiated tax rates taking republic priorities into account, temporary tax benefits and tax penalties, republic state orders, targeted subsidies, regional credit policy, sale of foreign currency, quotas making it mandatory for republic enterprises to sell a certain quantity of produced output in the local market, normative conditions for the siting of production units, charges for land, water, and labor resources, and ecological normatives.

Briefly speaking, republics can be attached to the Union only through a union market ensuring the efficiency of their national output. The absence of intermarket barriers improves marketing and supplies and expands competition by abolishing republic monopolies. But any attempts to retain republics within a single national economic complex via the redistribution of administrative economic power would in practice result only in grave disintegration processes. **In their striving for self-sufficiency, republics will rush into the implementation of far-reaching structural transformations for which ultimately the available efforts, money, and even Western aid, will not suffice.**

The shaping of a Union market must begin with leasing and joint enterprises. Stable market relations—initially of local and then of regional significance—will develop around them. Taking advantage of this, each republic, in parallel with the administrative imposition of order, will have to implement a package of measures to develop a republic market. The market for goods and services will be activated provided major associations are resolutely broken up into smaller units and if there is equally

resolute involvement of cooperatives, incentives for the creation of major enterprises' branches to fill the market vacuum, and encouragement for diversification of production.

The sphere of contract prices will expand. The market's tone will be successfully improved only if producers in a number of sectors become owners, with lessee collectives being allowed to purchase the leased state property. The goods and services market will produce a capital market in its wake. For this purpose each republic must have a network of commercial, including cooperative, banks instead of just branches of several specialized banks. And in order to ensure that enterprises do not go soliciting budget funds, they must be authorized to issue both internal and external shares.

As for the market for the means of production, this is a unionwide problem. Its successful solution will depend on whether we will manage to halt disorderly capital investment and release resources for free sale. On this basis republics will be able to transform the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply territorial offices into wholesale stores freely purchasing output throughout the union territory and freely selling it to those who have the money. And money will, of course, mean not the money we use today but "real" money.

On the day after everyone will obviously realize that our common market could turn out to be our main asset. This is why **today we must restore [vosstanavlivat] it step by step without panicking at the sight of initial failures. Tomorrow the ideas of breaking apart [razobshcheniye] will be replaced by the philosophy of unity, and together we will put our economy back on its feet.**

Agricultural

Agricultural Developments Reported for 17-23 May

LD2505034989

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 17-23 May, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

17 May

No fileworthy items.

18 May

Potato sowing has begun on 20,000 hectares in Irkutsk Oblast. (0900)

The sowing of millet and buckwheat has been completed in Ryazan Oblast. (0900)

Belgorod Oblast farmers have completed the sowing of corn on more than 250,000 hectares. (1300)

The sowing campaign is getting under way rapidly in the east. Grain crops have been sown on the first million hectares in Altay Kray. This is one-fourth of the kray's acreage under grain. Spring has been late almost everywhere in the east so that potatoes and a number of other crops are having to be sown at the same time as grain crops. Farms in the Russian Federation have been provided with only 80 percent of the silage and haylage buildings needed. They have storage facilities for only one-third of their hay and for only 17 percent of their fodder root crops. This problem is particularly acute in Pskov, Kaluga, Smolensk, and Volgograd Oblasts, and in Stavropol kray. (1500)

19 May

No fileworthy items.

20 May

Sowing of summer crops has basically been completed in Azerbaijan. The State Statistics Board reports that seeds have been scattered over 560,000 hectares and these fields were watered. Cotton constitutes the major part of this. At the same time, sowing of corn, potatoes, and vegetables continues. Vegetable growers are raising produce on an estimated 26,500 hectares. (Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0104)

21-23 May

No fileworthy items

Scientific

'Soyuz' Launches 'Resurs-F' Satellite 25 May

LD2605080189 Moscow TASS in English 0750 GMT 26 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—The Soyuz booster rocket launched an artificial earth satellite, Resurs-F, in the Soviet Union on May 25, 1989. It was developed by the Photon design bureau of the USSR Glavkosmos, chief administration for the development and use of space engineering for the economy and research.

The satellite carries photographic equipment for large-scale multi-zonal and spectro-zonal spanning to carry on the exploration of the earth's natural resources in the interests of various branches of the USSR national economy and international cooperation.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

—Initial period of revolution - 88.7 minutes,
—Maximum distance from the earth's surface (apogee) - 263 kilometres,

—Minimum distance from the earth's surface (perigee) - 188 kilometres,
—Orbit inclination - 82.3 degrees.

The equipment installed in the satellite operates normally.

The incoming information is transfered to the USSR Priroda State Research and Production Centre for prosessing and use.

The Resurs satellite also has two pion passive separated satellites to study the density of the upper atmosphere, which were developed by the collective of the student design bureau of the Korolev Aviation Institute in Kuibyshev.

Soviet Part in World Fiber-Optic Network Viewed

PM2505151589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 May 89 Evening Edition p 3

[I. Ruslanov article: "World Communications Network"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Communications and representatives of U.S., Japanese, and Danish companies have signed a protocol concerning their intention to create the first transcontinental fiber-optic communications cable. Our correspondent asked P. Kurakov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Communications Main Administration for Foreign Relations, to comment on the document.

"This unique cable will cross the entire territory of the Soviet Union from the Western border to the East and going out to Europe and Japan. It will be around 12,500 km long. The communications fibers will connect Moscow to various points, crossing several European countries and passing beneath the ocean.

The fiber-optic cable will run via Kaliningrad in the direction of Denmark, via Simferopol under the waters of the Black Sea to Bulgaria, and from Nakhodka under the straits to Japan, the Southeast Asian countries, and Australia. Another cable will link Chop, Prague, and the FRG.

The new communications cable together with the transatlantic and transpacific fiber-optic cables will make it possible to organize a global, digital, worldwide communications network. It will join Europe, Asia, and America and will pass beneath the Pacific, Atlantic, and Indian Oceans.

The possibility is now being studied of involving communications organizations from Britain, Italy, Australia, and other countries in the project's creation.

Military

Admiral Discusses Selling Of Old Warships

PM2605082989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Yu. Kornilov article incorporating interview with Admiral V.V. Sidorov, Navy deputy commander in chief: "Unusual Deal"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] How much does a warship which has been written off cost? At what price are submarines which have been written off sold? These are not idle questions. Per Arneberg, chief of the Norwegian firm "Fram Shipping Bermudes," who recently signed an agreement to this effect with the Soviet firm "Sudoeksport," became the owner of a cruiser which was going to be melted down, and 17 old submarines. He paid about $2 million for the cruiser, from which armaments, engines, and instruments were stripped, of course, and $140-150 million each for the submarines, which were stripped of their weapons.

"Fram Shipping Bermudes" cooperates closely with the U.S. "Pepsico" company, which is well known in our country and whose leader Donald Kendall was, judging from press reports, one of the initiators of the unusual deal. And how do Soviet seamen assess the contract which has been concluded?

"I think that 'Sudoeksport' conciuded a fine, mutually advantageous deal," Admiral V.V. Sidorov, Navy deputy commander in chief, said. "The cruiser which was sold abroad was built at the beginning of the 1950's, while the submarines in question were built even earlier—in the early postwar years. All these vessels served their time honorably; they were decommissioned long ago and are of no military significance. Meanwhile keeping them and maintaining them 'laid up' costs money, a great deal of money...."

[Kornilov] Couldn't the ships which were sold have been retooled for training or, for example, scientific purposes?

[Sidorov] Specialists studied this issue and came to the unanimous conclusion that this retooling would cost more than building new vessels....

[Kornilov] It is no secret that warships are built from high-quality metal. Doesn't our country really need this metal?

[Sidorov] Of course it does. But, just think, what does "melting down" a cruiser or even a submarine mean? This is a very complex task in the technical sense, a special "shipbreaking" yard is needed to resolve it. In our country such yards are not noted for their particular capacity. Only comparatively recently construction of four of the latest modern shipbreaking enterprises was scheduled by a government decision. They are to come

on line at the beginning of the 1990's and then, naturally, the state of affairs will change. Today we are acting reasonably and economically, selling abroad vessels—or more precisely their metal shells—while they are still uncorroded by rust and have not sunk to the bottom of the ocean.

[Kornilov] Is that what happens?

[Sidorov] Now such instances are a rarity, an exceptional occurrence, whereas before.... Some time ago a group of naval specialists were instructed to draw up a unique all-union plan-map of ships which had sunk. There are no more and no less than about 500 of them (including almost 140 in the Far East and about 120 in the Black Sea). These, of course, are not only warships, some of which sank in the Great Patriotic or even the Civil War, but also fishing vessels, and vessels from the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet.

[Kornilov] Let us return to the "Sudoeksport"-"Fram Shipping Bermudes" deal. Such deals will be implemented in the future as well, isn't that so?

[Sidorov] Our thorough "inventorization" of our large and basically very modern Navy which accords with the latest demands shows that even today there are places where we have ships "laid up" which have completely served their time and become useless. Not so long ago we passed on to "Sudoeksport" one more cruiser and a number of old submarines. So, it is to be hoped that that in the near future the country will receive one more substantial sum in foreign currency, which is so essential to develop our national economy....

A number of Italian, Spanish, Japanese, and also South Korean firms are showing great interest in obtaining ships and vessels which have been written off.

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